

Tamás Kiss

ASSOCIATION OF HUNGARIAN UNIVERSITY AND COLLEGE STUDENTS

With the Foreword by Béla Lipták



1956 • SZEGED

Eyewitness
Youngsters as participants of history

Editors of the series
Csaba Jancsák

TAMÁS KISS

**Association of Hungarian University and College Students
1956 – Szeged**

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Foreword

In 1956, Tamás Kiss was a leader of the first free student association behind the Iron Curtain (the MEFESZ of the city of Szeged in Hungary). He brought that news to the Technical University of Budapest. In this fine book of his, he describes the events of the 1956 Hungarian fight for freedom and provides authentic documentation for those events. Truth is important, documented facts are important, because Hungary has not yet digested her own past. She still lacks openness to dialogue, to discussion and lacks the willingness to calmly compare the facts, the points of views. This lack of a clear and commonly held understanding of the past results in public frustration, violent arguments, a civil-war-like mentality, which is paralyzing, because a nation, all nations need a common memory before they can build a common future.

The book itself provides much needed facts for the Hungarian public that is used to hear the former henchmen of Communist rulers to sling mud at those patriots whom they sentenced to death. Yet, in this introduction to his book, I will try to acquaint the reader with the spirit, the emotional atmosphere of the revolution. Let me begin with a few paragraphs from my own book, which describe Tamás Kiss's role at a student meeting in Budapest on the 22nd of October:

‘...I was scraping the corrosion off my »gold« ring, which had cost me thirty-six forints and must have had some copper in its heritage, because it was turning green. I was spitting on it, rubbing it, and was just beginning to make some progress when I felt Attila's elbow in my side. He was pointing down to the speakers' platform, where there was some commotion. The murmur in the aula stopped. Now there was total silence. In startled curiosity the dozing students were beginning to wake up. We were sitting up and starting to pay attention. Now you could hear a pin drop and then, from the middle of the tumult at the microphone, a voice rose: ‘I represent the MEFESZ of Szeged! I want to speak!’

It was unprecedented! Extraordinary! The air was thick with tension. We did not know who had spoken, did not understand what was happening. All we could see was that the DISZ penguins were shoving a fellow away from the microphone. He was a student like us, and he was talking, gesticulating, but we heard nothing-the blue-jacketed DISZ operatives had pushed him all the way to the wall.

Then the Party secretary, Mrs. Orbán, came to the microphone and admonished us, 'You have only one duty! Your duty is to study!' She was almost screaming. 'You don't want the MEFESZ of Szeged! You don't want any ideas from Szeged!' I could not imagine why Szeged was suddenly such a bad place. I did not particularly care what she was saying but I was hypnotized by this mini-hero, this crazy guy from Szeged.

My mind raced on: I do not understand him. I do not understand what he wants. Is he out of his mind? Does he not know that he will be kicked out of the university? Not only that, he will also be thrown in jail-that is, right after they beat the shit out of him. Does he not understand that we are nobodies, that our collective name is 'Shut Up'? Does he not understand that he is nothing, that I am nothing that we have no say in anything? Does he not understand that the microphone is only for the Party collaborators and nobody, but nobody, else talks into it? Does he not know that even the DISZ penguins dare only read their prepared statements? And that even then, they wait until they are told that it is their turn to read?

Attila muttered my own racing thoughts when he said, 'I just don't get it!'

Then we saw the members of the military department, the only people who possessed arms at the university, marching onto the speaker's platform, and we got very quiet. You could have cut the tension with a knife. My throat was dry, my breath bated. All eyes were on the officers. Then suddenly, from a distance, we heard a voice. It was that of a fifth-year architecture student, a blond, very tall, by the name of Jancsi Danner. He yelled, 'Let him speak!'

My heart stopped. Nothing like this had ever happened since the Red Army had occupied Hungary. I stared at Jancsi. His ears were red,

his mouth was trembling, but he did not blink; he faced the bewildered and frightened stares of two thousand students.

'God, he has lost his marbles!' I said.

In the meantime a new and angry sort of murmur was building up, replacing the previously astonished silence, and now, a few rows in front of us, Laci Zsindely, a classmate of mine, hesitantly started to clap. It was then that the miracle occurred!

First one, then two, then four or five students joined in, and suddenly this sparse clapping turned into a hurricane, a burst of thunderous applause the likes of which I had never heard. I saw Attila clapping like a madman as he shouted to me, 'Applaud or I will never speak to you again!'

I had never seen anything like it. As some of the students stood up, the ovation continued, and the Party officials around the microphone became nervous, surprised, angry-and just a bit uncertain. I had never seen them uncertain. This was something new. My flesh was creeping, and I was clapping as though my life depended on it, as if I were out of my mind. And during all this, my mind was racing. Is this possible? Can we actually have a say? Can we contradict them like this, directly to their faces? Is it possible that I matter, that what I think matters? Is it possible that I do not have to hold my tongue all the time? Is it possible that I am not alone?

Now, it was total chaos. The Party secretary ran to the telephone. The rest of her penguins were white as sheets. The hands of the officers of the military department had moved to the guns on their belts while the chief of DISZ kept screaming into the microphone. And then, through all the pandemonium and over the thunderous applause, we heard his voice once more: 'I represent the MEFESZ of Szeged! Allow me to speak!'

Now I really felt hypnotized. I stood up and began walking toward that voice and saw Attila doing the same thing. From other directions, another twenty, then thirty, students were also starting to move toward the voice. This was all completely spontaneous. We walked without knowing who was walking with us. We were drawn toward the



speaker's stand, toward the angry but scared penguins who had encircled the boy from MEFESZ. The circle thinned as we got closer and we just started pushing the whole group toward the microphone. I saw my hand rise, reaching for one of the fat penguins. Five more meters and we would have it! I pushed with all my might. The DISZ resistance faltered. Now, Jancsi Danner grabbed the microphone and proclaimed, 'I ask the representative of the students of Szeged to speak!'

There was a deafening ovation that took quite a while to taper off until there was total silence. I saw the six-foot-four Jancsi Danner reaching down as he gave the microphone to the delegate from Szeged. I just stood in the protective ring around him, and my eyes filled with tears as he started to speak in a strong voice: 'Fellow students! Hungarians!'

I saw the flash of cameras. I saw strangers rushing to the telephones. Floodlights started to glare and film cameras begun to buzz. And the fellow from Szeged was oblivious to it all as he started to speak: 'Once again, the wind of freedom is blowing in from Poland. The Polish exchange students at our university are asking for our support. Russian troops are surrounding Warsaw, but the Polish army is also encircling the Russians. The city of Poznan is also free, but surrounded. Poland is showing the way and is asking for our solidarity. We will not let them down! We, the students of Szeged, have decided to follow the Poles in establishing our independent student organization, the MEFESZ. Please join us. Please do not believe the lies. Please form your own MEFESZ!'

Well, this was how our revolution started and this was when I first heard the voice of Tamás Kiss. The next time I heard it was 50 years later, when he asked me to write this preface.

This book describes how the Hungarian Revolution revealed the true face of Communism to the World and mortally wounded the Red Empire by exposing it for what it really was, a barbaric and brutal dictatorship. The Soviets used more tanks against the kids of Budapest

than Hitler did in occupying France. In crushing our fight for freedom, they killed 3,800, deported 40,000 to Kazakhstan. In addition, the Hungarian puppet government they installed, hanged 350 and caused 250,000 to flee. This loss of Hungary's best educated young people, – 3% of her population –, would be the equivalent of the loss of 8 million Americans. In spite of their military victory, the Soviets lost, because tanks can not destroy ideals. It is these ideals: the spirit of the revolution, that I would like to acquaint you with.

My monthly stipend of 140 forints was in my pocket when the Revolution started. A few days later I dropped 120 of that into an unguarded collection box on a street corner, which was put there to pay the funeral expenses of the fallen. My remaining 20 forints I could not spend for 35 days. During these days the secret police was searching for me, so I could not go home. I ate at the table of strangers I slept in the beds of strangers, nobody ever accepted any money from me. The national tricolor of my National Guard armband was sufficient payment to all.

When we repelled the first Soviet attack, we became a family, a patriotic family of 10 million, willing to give our lives for the freedom of Hungary. For this reason, the honor of the Revolution was important to all of us and because honorable people do not steal, the goods stood untouched behind the broken windows of the stores. Everybody wanted to participate in this struggle, so the farmers from the villages streamed to the capital to bring food, which they distributed free of charge.

200 destroyed Soviet tanks were still smoking on the streets when Khrushchev decided to withdraw his army from Budapest and started negotiations to end Hungary's occupation.

Then, on the 31st of October, France and England attacked Egypt and started to bomb the Suez Canal, while Eisenhower was busy with his reelection campaign. This changed Khrushchev's mind. He attacked again and we fought, while the West did nothing to help. We were abandoned. Two of my friends died in my arms. One, a girl, lying on the floor in her own blood, appeared to move her lips. I put my ear to

her lips and heard, what could have been her last words: 'There is candy in my pocket, take some'.

500 years earlier, in 1456, the Hungarian army defeated the Turks at Nándorfehérvár and we received the noontime bell in her churches, as Europe's gratitude, which was later followed by our nation's dismemberment at Trianon and our abandonment to the Soviets at Yalta. 500 years later, in 1956, the kids of Budapest mortally wounded Europe's arch enemy, the Soviets, and in gratitude the West stabbed us in the back in 1956 and in 1989 gave us the Reagan-Gorbachev deal and abandoned 5 million Hungarians, Europe's largest indigenous national minority.

I don't want to end this preface on such bitter note! Let me say, that in spite of these facts, the example of the author of this volume Tamás Kiss and the history of my 1000+ years old nation makes me to believe that our spirit will overcome the reversals and we will not repeat our past. We will learn that we should unite as a society and also unite with our neighbors. We should learn not expect anything from Western Europe, but defend our interests ourselves. The way to do that is to establish a Danubean Federation. The economic and political power of this 100 million Central European Federation will than be able to defend our interests and to once again rebalance Europe. This is an immense task, yet compared to mortally wounding the Soviet Empire, it should not be that difficult!

Béla Lipták

Hungarian Universities 1956 – Szeged

Introduction

A lot has been written on the role of Hungarian universities, university and college students in the 1956 revolution from many different points of view. Still, the detailed exploration has not been achieved yet, although we are still in time to record the events as thoroughly as possible in order to give a chance to unbiased evaluation.

As János Molnár put it in his book, *Counter-Revolution in Hungary in 1956* (published in 1967): 'AHUCS came into being in Szeged during an assembly of the University of Szeged on 16 October. The AHUCS – though this organisation caused the decline of the Petőfi Circle – was not an organisation with perspective, but rather an ad hoc one. It did not play any role after the 23 of October, it was only mentioned rarely. The AHUCS was the organ of demonstrations. Not an ideological (this was the Petőfi Circle), but a political organisation, an organisation of uprisal. Student leaders with a right wing disposition played an important role in the university movement initiated under the aegis of AHUCS. Illegal organisations directed by Cistercian monks took an especially outstanding part in the rebirth of AHUCS.'

After the Ministry of Agriculture had ordered an enquiry during the spring of 1957, the Silviculture College of Sopron made a report on 8 July, 1957 for the sake of credible clarification of 'counter-revolutionary events'. The report assesses in its part II/3–4: 'the students of Sopron got information about the youth movements of Szeged and Budapest from *Szabad Ifjúság* (contemporary youth magazine). The thought of agreeing with the initiatives of these students generated the assembly of 30–40 on 21 October in the youth hostel in Dimitrov square. The pattern of the decisions made during this assembly was the behaviour of the Szeged students. As a result of

the preparatory assembly a meeting was organised in SOTEX Culture Center on Monday, 22 October, 3 p.m.’

Gyula Mészáros assesses in his writing, *Revolution and War of Independence in Veszprém*: ‘the newspaper of AWY (Association of the Working Youth), Szabad Ifjúság reached Veszprém on Sunday, 21 October. It contained the appeals of the universities of Szeged and Budapest and the proposal for founding the AHUCS. The appeal caused a huge trepidation among the university students [...] here they decided to form the Veszprém department of AHUCS and to put down their claims.’

The party committee of the University of Pécs organised a university parliament on 22 October, 1956. Before the meeting ‘several students of the grade raised the issue of forming AHUCS in the afternoon and some students were appointed to formulate a memorandum in the name of the third grade. Owing to the remarks, the members seceded from AWY and we formed AHUCS with public acclamation. One of the talkers was the envoy from the University of Szeged’ (1956 in *Baranya*, Károly Péter, 1997).

The brochure titled *Gödöllő 1956* (Róbert Septán, 1999) says the followings about the student assembly kept in the University of Agriculture of Gödöllő on 22 October, 1956: ‘the AWY committee organised a forum for students under the name Táncsics Debate Circle on 22 October, in order to decrease tension and to clear the questions left unanswered. The gathering ran from 7 p.m. to midnight and students from all faculties took part. The criticism towards the local AWY became harder as the excitement grew and finally the students formed the local organisation of AHUCS, they even drew up political and economic claims beyond educational reform.’

Imre Lázár, a former university student calls back the beginnings in a study titled *Revolution in Debrecen 1956* (Tibor Filep, 1990): ‘The news about the movement of the university students of Szeged reached us during the week before 23 October. Then their envoys arrived and asked us to form an independent organisation for college and university students. Our claims were forming rather slowly but quite

coherently concerned not only university autonomy, but also more and more politics. The people being at present in the youth hostel in Benczúr street decided to form AHUCS in the evening 22 October.'

In 1958, the political investigation department of Budapest Police made a summarizing report about the events that happened in the autumn of 1956 at Budapest University of Technology. His report states that 'a lot of students took part in the sessions of Petőfi Circle but significant movements could not be observed till the middle of October. Political life started to stir when – in the middle of October 1956 – the destructive movement of the university students of Szeged (he students resigned from AWY and AHUCS was formed) became public. The envoys from Szeged visited every university in Budapest and called upon the students to follow their example' (TH V-150/384/1).

A detail from the introduction of a work (*Amiről kevés szó esett.* ed. Mária Pogány, 1992) containing documents and reminiscences about the events of October 1956 at Budapest University of Technology: 'an unexpected event exploded into the public life which was pretty stirring anyway. Katalin Nemes, the organising secretary of the university party committee called István Marián on phone: she was informed that the students would keep a spontaneous assembly in the youth hostel on András Hess Square. [...] A student informed her that they were preparing for the evening gathering because – said the student – AHUCS had already been formed in Szeged while nothing was happening at the University of Technology.'

Another detail from *The University's White Book*: 'a smaller assembly was kept in the youth hostel of the engineering faculty on Béla Bartók Road during the evening 20 October, at which students from Szeged took part as well. They decided to organise a general assembly for the sake of discussing the current issues. The assembly planned by AWY for 25 October must be advanced for 22 October' (ZH V-150/384/1).

'The runoff [of the famous University of Technology gathering on 22 October] had already showed counter-revolutionary character.

Groups were formed and they tried to silence the honest talkers already at the beginning of the assembly with their choir »Let's hear Szeged!«' (*BRFK Politikai Nyomozó Osztály Összefoglaló Jelentése* TH V-150/384/1).

György Sámsondi Kiss dr. evoked the assembly in 1992: 'the famous evening student assembly lives in me as a wonderful, euphoric experience. It seemed unbelievable that the delegation from Szeged arrived and then came the emerging choir of »Go home!« – referring to the Soviet troops.'

A part of the interview with Sándor Szabó who was the conducting president of the general assembly 22 October appointed by the party leaders: 'Mária Pogány: Several people recall the envoy from Szeged. Have you got any memories? – Sándor Szabó: Yes, there was an envoy from Szeged, indeed, he seemed to be our peer and he took the floor and said that they had already been getting up in the terms of the new Szeged thought. He said something else, I do not remember. – Pogány: But he raised the issue of forming AHUCS. – Szabó: I cannot remember who raised that issue but it is possible that he did it, indeed.' Let us see the thorough description of Béla Lipták: 'the assembly began as usual. They said their stuff as in a theatre and we did not even pay attention. They talked, we remained silent. Gillemot is talking, the Vice Chancellor, the AWY secretary, the party secretary, the dean is talking, everybody who should. There is a fray at the rostrum. I represent the Szeged AHUCS, let me go to the microphone! Then Mrs. Orbán, the party secretary says something dizzy that there is no need for AHUCS and the new Szeged thought. Silence - tension can even be touched when I hear the voice of János Danner from the gallery: let him speak. The hall sinks into chaos. The party representatives are white with fear around the rostrum. The party secretary rushes away to make a phone call; the dean shouts hysterically into the microphone, then we hear that voice again: I represent the AHUCS of Szeged, let me speak. Then he reads up their claims ... It was around 5 o'clock p.m. when our assembly carried their claims by acclamation and joined AHUCS.'

And, in the end, an excerpt from a testimony made only nine months after the events: 'Question: Tell us what kind of activity did the envoys from Szeged follow at the Budapest University of Technology. Answer: The president of the assembly held on 22 October 1956, Herczeg, the secretary of AWY's executive committee from the Faculty of Building Industry declared that the deputies from Szeged had just arrived. The members of the assembly cheered them and pressed the leaders for letting them speak out of turn. Then a 170-centimeter-or-so-tall, brown haired, oval faced, slim person, around the age of 20 and 24 raised his voice. There were shouts: »Tell us what happened in Szeged.« He said that there had been gatherings for days, they had announced the dissolution of AWY and formed AHUCS. They did not let be kept on a leash. He mentioned that they had worked out a proposal concerning the rules and regulations and the programme of AHUCS and they had sent them to the student parliament. He also said that they had had a public assembly where they had formulated their claims. He read them up. I can recall the following points:

1. Acclaiming the formation of AHUCS and the dissolution of AWY.
2. Clarifying the Soviet-Hungarian relations on the basis of parity.
3. I think he referred to the withdrawal of the Soviet troops, so one point contained the withdrawal of the Soviet troops.
4. Publishing the secret external trade and economic treaties.
5. Declaring new parliamentary elections.
6. Calling Mihály Farkas and his mates to account on a public trial.
7. Declaring Kossuth-blazon as an official one.
8. University autonomy.
9. Facultative education of foreign languages.
10. Decreasing the number of military education lessons.
11. Annihilating political screening on the field of economic life.
12. Decreasing the number of Marxism lessons.

In the end he called on the participants of the assembly to join them. He mentioned that they had sent the rules and regulations, the

programme plan and the political claims of AHUCS to the other Hungarian universities.

The whole speech took about 20-25 minutes and the majority of the participants approved of what he had read up. A part of the proposals was put in the declaration of claims accepted by the assembly of the University of Technology and Building Industry.’ (CsML Szegedi Megyei Bíróság B. 1249/1957. p. 89.).

This assembly decided to organise a demonstration the following day and during the afternoon of 23 October the university students started their demonstration in order to confirm their political demands in Budapest – and almost the same time in Debrecen. The regime’s answer was a bloody fusillade, and then the revolution broke out.

What had happened in Szeged during the autumn of 1956 till 23 October?

The more than ten-month-long process of police investigation during 1957 and ‘58 against the participating students, the records of the one-month trial, the testimonies of the more than forty witnesses, the agent reports, the different materials gathered by secret agency methods, the remained contemporary documents, newspapers, tape recordings and photographs made during the general assembly for the police help the detailed and exact exploration of the events happened nearly fifty years ago.

The arrested and later sentenced university students and the witnesses considered denial senseless, they just – at the most – tried to decrease their role at the expense of those about whom they were sure had left the country.

An excerpt from a secret, so-called *prison cell bugging report* (tape record) made in September 1957, when one of the organisers of AHUCS talks to his cell mate: ‘after the first hearings, when the investigation went on, lots of things that previously had not been mentioned by him turned out. Then he took the responsibility only for such things which could be testified by 3 or 4 witnesses because in these cases it was no use denying.’

In fact, everybody knew what was going on during 13 and 23 October, 1956 at the university.

Both the arrested people and the witnesses knew that they were carefully observed by the AWY, the party and the State Protection Authority (SPA) even during the events because those people whose task was to inform the authorities also took part in the public conversations and assembly so the sued students frankly spoke out their intentions and aims during the interrogations.

A quotation from an interrogation record: 'after the assembly the provisional council of AHUCS decided to deal with political cases too if they seemed to be truthful claims. The following questions were concerned after hearing the members: the uranium ore, resuming Imre Nagy and György Lukács to the government and the central leadership of the party, publishing the trade treaties, education of Russian language, withdrawal of the Soviet troops, restoration of the Kossuth-blazon, calling Rákosi and Farkas to account, decreasing the number of Marxism lessons, decreasing the quantity of turning in. Our aim was to keep some of these claims and to initiate a political debate with the leaders of the government and the party in order to make them be aware of these claims. We thought the students forming a unity in AHUCS represent such a caliber that they could force the party and governing organs to think it through and give way to our claims.' (CsML B. 1249/1957. p. 250.)

During the court process, the arrested university and college students felt not guilty for their acts before and during the revolution, they only took some responsibility for making and dissipating fly-sheets against Kádár after the suppression of the revolution.

Till 13 October, 1956

Following the events in the capital, in the summer of 1956 the Szeged group of the Pen Club organised debates on 29 June and 6 July in order to 'discuss the real problems' of literature, 'to maintain the purity of Marxism-Leninism and the partisanship of literature'. There

could also be heard some objection during these debates to the literature's party-based directing and against organs and persons determining the cultural life of the city. The universities and students did not take part in these discussions – because of the schoolbreak.

The 'result' was the following sentence in a *Délmagyarország* (regional newspaper) article (1 July 1956): 'All speakers deeply disagreed with those attacks against the people and the party which could be heard during the last debate of the Budapest Petőfi Circle'.

On the 4 July conference of the city party committee, first secretary Benedek Ladányi firmly rejected every assault against the party; 'every hostile manifestation, attempt for perturbation must be considered as an attack against the power of the working class being in partnership with the working peasants and must be rebutted firmly'. The participants of the conference criticised even certain articles published in the party newspaper, *Szabad Nép*, and what is more, they firmly condemned their so-called 'not really pro-party and firm' intonation.

The county and city leaders of the Hungarian Workers' Party (HWP) held power still safely, the SPA, the police and the agent network operated trustworthily, which was also necessary because of the nearness of the Yugoslavian border and the state of foreign affairs considering the previous years.

Teaching started at the universities and colleges in the middle of September 1956.

The proportion of the almost 2000 university and college students is nearly the same as that of the admitted first-year students in September 1956, for example at the Medical Faculty: 60% worker-peasant, 27% intellectual, 10% employee and 3% other from the 180 freshers.

During the first meetings and friendly conversations after the break – quite irregularly – youngsters already talked not only about learning and entertaining, but also about the news of political 'melting'. The students exchanged information caught previously in parental environment; they discussed the internal affairs, the 'resignation' of Mátyás Rákosi, the exclusion of Mihály Farkas, the events in Poland.

They talked about the articles of *Irodalmi Újság*, about the news of Petőfi Circle sessions, and what is more, sometimes even about the news heard in Radio Free Europe. The party committee and the AWY made a decision to form the József Attila Circle, probably under the effect of the new circumstances. The aim of the Circle was 'to create a city debate forum for the worker-peasant-intellectual youngsters and adults of Szeged, where they can discuss the current questions of these days and can form a correct, pro-party opinion'.

The leadership of the József Attila Circle – all of them were members of the HWP – declared the date (19 October) and the contents ('The state of intellectuals in Szeged and the party declaration about intellectual policy') of the first debate on 29 September. It is characteristic that the local press, *Délmagyarország* reported the event only in short news on 10 October.

On 6 October – the day of the reburial of László Rajk and his mates – the university and college students who had spent two weeks in a building camp in Mohácssziget to help the rebuilding of the inhabitants' houses after a flood returned to Szeged.

At the camp the youngsters arriving from various universities of the country – making use of their plenty of free time and the new acquaintances – exchanged news, experiences and sometimes their opinions, too.

Then we reached 13 October 1956.

Saturday, 13 October, 1956

A sophomore law student learning in Szeged, Helmut Alaksza, received a letter from his friend attending the faculty of arts in Budapest, in which he sent an appeal dated to 10 October starting with the sentence: 'Hungarian students!' (document 1). This appeal states: 'this educational system brings up intellectual cripples. We are forced to act! First of all, Russian language has to be reduced into a facultative subject! Take into consideration that the present state of Russian language is the consequence of Russian chauvinism, fed by

Stalinism. We summon you to go on strike with us on 22 October 1956, in order to reduce Russian language into a facultative subject.'

First Helmut Alaksza showed the letter to the AWY secretary of the grade – who rejected the appeal's proposals – then he gave it to his grademate, András Lejtényi. During that afternoon Lejtényi showed the letter to his friend, Tamás Kiss, another sophomore law student, who agreed with the initiation. They went to the sublet of Tamás Kiss and typed three or four copies of the text to dissipate them among the students. They completed the signature of the appeal with the phrase 'law students of Szeged'.

During their conversation the issues of claiming other reforms beyond the question of Russian language other disadvantageous educational questions and the improvement of the students' social situation emerged, so they decided that - beyond organising a strike – an organisation must be formed to represent the students' interest for prompt and efficient realisation of student demands.

Though both of them were the members of the official youth organisation, AWY, they saw clearly that AWY was inconvenient to reach their aims.

They immediately shared their ideas with their friends. Around 7 and 8 o'clock they went to Imre Tóth, a friend of Tamás Kiss, a third-year law student. They showed the appeal and talked about their intentions. Imre Tóth, who had already known the essence of the letter, describes the events in his testimony as follows: 'András Lejtényi and Tamás Kiss law students visited me after 10 October, 1956 and said that they would have liked to form a new organisation defending the students' interests. They stated in front of me that it was their idea. I myself agreed with them'.¹

According to another interrogation record, to the question whether they had talked previously about the formation of that organisation he answered: 'Yes, we had such a conversation in my flat, Szűcs street 7, Szeged, in the company of Tamás Kiss and András Lejtényi. Actually Tamás Kiss raised the issue of forming a student organisation representing their interests. Here we decided to go to the University of Medicine the following day'.²

They decided to start their campaign the following day and to attend all youth hostels and share their views with their friends and acquaintances.

János Aszalós and Zoltán Lengyel from the Faculty of Natural Sciences also took part in the meeting but they did not want to get involved in the organising yet, though both of them agreed with the appeal and the further plans.

In the evening they went to a woman from their grade who later testified the followings: 'Around 13 October, as far as I can remember, that was a Saturday evening, my grademate, Imre Tóth and Tamás Kiss, a sophomore law student and Zoltán Lengyel from the Faculty of Natural Sciences visited me at my place and dictated me a typed appeal and I made 2 or 3 copies on white sheets of paper. As I can evoke, the appeal contained: the mandatory status of Russian language subject is the consequence of Russian chauvinism and Stalinist oppression'.³

The university leaders of AWY were informed about the appeal sent from Budapest on the same day. As the AWY secretary of the Faculty of Natural Sciences testified: 'First I heard about it in the Canteen 2 from József Görög, an art student, in the evening of 13 October, 1956. He said that a fly-sheet made by an illegal strike committee which came into being after the Rajk reburial in Budapest circulates among the students and it calls for a strike against attending Russian lessons on 22 October'.⁴

Sunday, 14 October

During the day more and more people talked about the appeal and the plan of forming a student organisation. A medicine student recalled the events during the interrogation as follows: 'Question: Where, at which university did Tamás Kiss organise AHUCS? – Answer: First at the Faculty of Law, then around 12 and 14 October he came to the faculty of medicine youth hostel, Vörösmarty Road 4, with two other law students, András Lejtényi and Imre Tóth and they entered every room, and then urged the students to join AHUCS and to go to the first student assembly'.⁵

The organisers also visited the faculty of arts youth hostel then the student club on Dugonics Square – the place where they met, talked and discussed during the following days – where they described their plans to the students.

The majority agreed with the issues of the organisers, though some students shared only a part of their views.

Early afternoon Imre Tóth informed one of the AWY secretaries from the Faculty of Natural Sciences in the street that they would fix up a strike concerning the teaching of Russian language and they would institute a new university organisation. When the AWY secretary raised objection to the new organisation, Imre Tóth replied that 'he is »willing« to talk to the university party and AWY representatives in the student club on 16 October 5 p.m.'.⁶

In the evening Imre Tóth, András Lejtényi and Tamás Kiss met in Virág confectionary and discussed their plans considering the set up of the new student organisation.

Imre Tóth testified the followings during the interrogation: 'We worked out the temporary rules and regulations in Virág confectionary. These contained approximately the followings: it is an organisation defending interests (we did not give a name to it then), it deals with academic, social and cultural problems of the students. It would operate beside AWY. It would be constructed by general elections. Its highest organ is the University Student Council without any decision-making right, just an executive organ. Then follow the faculty councils, representatives of grades and the learning groups. We planned decision-making rights for the student general assembly, the faculty and grade assemblies'.⁷

Later there could also be heard proposals concerning the name: 'Student Alliance' or 'Attila József Alliance'.

Monday, 15 October

The students of the university and the College of Pedagogical Studies gathered into groups in lesson breaks throughout the morning and argued and exchanged information.

This went on so much without fear that even the vice-dean of the law faculty, József Perbíró dr. and the president of the university, Dezső Baróti dr. were also informed by the organisers.

Some sentences from the interrogation record of József Perbíró: 'Tamás Kiss played a great role in the organising work of AHUCS beside András Lejtényi. He was a member of all the three delegations which visited me, the leader of the faculty from the middle of October till 20. At the first occasion Tamás Kiss, András Lejtényi, Imre Tóth and Iván Abrudbányai announced that they would have liked to travel to Budapest for the sake of gathering personal experiences about the state of the new youth movement. When I asked them what kind of youth movement that was, they behaved very unresponsively, they only said that a new youth organisation was under construction instead of the AWY and they did not want either to miss the events or to overtake them. I told them that in my opinion that was not just the concern of the youth of the Faculty of Law but of all students of the university so I could not give any money for that matter from the social fund of the law faculty. I advised them to visit the Chancellor because he had the right to make a decision in such a case. I also spoke with the party secretary of the faculty, László Németi in connection with the financial assistance (travelling expenses) who approved of my rejection.'⁸

During the interrogation, to the question what signs could be sensed among the students before 23 October 1956, Rezső Baróti dr. answered the followings: 'I apprehended nothing irregular among university students until 12 October 1956 [...] Next Monday the aforementioned law student visited me with two of his mates who also came from the Faculty of Law. They announced that they came on behalf the law students. Referring to the Saturday conversation they brought on that the AWY was inconvenient, it was unable to solve the professional problems of the university's youth and they would ask permission to form an organisation which would be able to discuss their problems. They did not mention then that they wanted to form an organisation completely independent from AWY, nor about

AHUCS. Besides asking me to permit their organising activity, they also asked for my advice. I did not reject the issue of starting such kind of an activity at the university. I said giving permission was beyond my authority but I would travel to Budapest and would answer their questions after coming back. We made an agreement not to do anything until I would come back on Thursday. I travelled to Budapest on 15 October to meet Vice Secretary Sótér in the ministry of education. We talked about the problem of certain subjects and he gave forth that the matter was discussed on other forums, too. We were not concerned with the question of the university movement during the conversation.”

The AWY secretary of the Faculty of Natural Sciences recalls the events happening that day in details in his testimony: ‘In the meantime I was informed that typed sheets of paper circulated from hand to hand at every faculty of the university, at the College of Pedagogical Studies and on the Medical University which called upon a strike against the teaching of Russian language and forming a new university alliance, the »Attila József Alliance«. I read both fly-sheets already on that day. *Question:* What were these fly-sheets about? *Answer:* One started with the sentence »Hungarian Students« ... their first step was to fight against the mandatory status of Russian language ... The fly-sheet came out in various forms, some were only signed by art students from Budapest, but there were others in which the cooperation of students from Szeged was mentioned. The other fly-sheet said the followings in connection with the Attila József Alliance: first of all it attacked AWY, which did not represent the interests of the students and was not able to solve their problems, in their opinion, and because the members of AWY lost their confidence in the organisation, a new organ should be instituted. In the followings the fly-sheet dealt with the attitude and aims of the new alliance. The organisation would be named after Attila József, would be independent from AWY and the party, an autonomous organisation, free from politics, whose aim was to solve the problem of the defence of student interests. AWY could have sent an observer into the leading board of the new organisation.

Question: What do you know about the origins of these fly-sheets? Who made them and where, who dissipated them? *Answer:* The Russian language fly-sheet came from Budapest and surely the leaders of AHUCS typed them and dissipated them. The Attila József Alliance fly-sheet and the alliance itself were created in Szeged.¹⁰

During the enquiry the investigators asked the organisers: 'As lawyers, did you know when you set up and formed AHUCS that such kind of an activity is against our Constitution and is punished by our laws?' *Answer:* 'We knew it, but in order to confirm our point of view, Tamás Kiss and me, and maybe György Kiss went through the Constitution in the university library on 14 and 15 October 1956. Even after that we came to the point that our organisation could be formed, considering the given political situation.'¹¹

During the afternoon and in the evening hours more and more people took part the student club debate. Especially Iván Abrudbányai law student, László Székely from the Faculty of Natural Sciences, Pál Vezényi (Faculty of Arts), István Sersli and Róbert Hegyi (medical students) took an important part in the conversations and the organising.

During that period there were still several students who saw the situation the way as Miklós Vető, a third year law student did. (He left Hungary at the beginning of 1957. He was afraid of being arrested due to his activity during the revolution.) He evokes that day in his letter sent from Paris in 1995: 'On Sunday 14 October 1956, when I came back to Szeged from Budapest, I found a sheet of paper on the door of my room. It said that Tamás Kiss and János Aszalós wanted to have a chat with me. Next day it turned out that they were looking for me to discuss how a new, non-communist organisation could be formed. In the end they started to set it up without me. I admit I did not really believe in it, so I remained in the shadow because I was known as a rather 'reactionist' person and I did not want to compromise the movement with my class-alien, clerical and reactionist persona.' After 23 October, Miklós Vető also became a brave member of the revolution.

The participants in the student club discussed the results of the visits at the leaders of the university and the plan of the rules and regulations made in Virág confectionery on the previous day, then they accepted the 'Student Alliance' label temporarily. Here arose the suggestion that the students of the given faculties should elect three persons each in the following days (the Faculty of Law, Arts, Natural Sciences, Medicine, Pharmacy and the College of Pedagogical Studies) and the committee consisting of the 18 elected persons should formulate the final version of the rules and regulations and the programme.

They came to an agreement that they would gather again in the student club the following afternoon and continue the debate, especially because Imre Tóth invited the leaders of AWY for that time.

The atmosphere of these days was exactly put down in an agent report made for the Szeged Police Department on 26 April 1957, which was about the unfolding of a 'counter-revolution' at the universities. 'Helmut Alaksza, a sophomore law student, received a letter from the Budapest Faculty of Arts. The letter caused quite an upheaval among us. We came to the point when we had to act. Students started to tear into groups, some of them agreed, others rejected the appeal coming from Budapest. The whole case was gradually taken up by two sophomore law students, Tamás Kiss and András Lejtényi, they took the lead of the opposition. I went home around midnight next Sunday, after the letter's arrival and as I was walking along Jégkunyó confectionery, I saw Kiss and Lejtényi stepping out the door. They did not recognise me and before saying farewell to each other they went on talking for a few minutes while I was looking in through the confectionery's window. I heard about AHUCS first during that short chat. So probably the issue of organising AHUCS came up on that day in their minds. On Monday, the following day (15 October) they shared their plan with us when we had just arrived at the faculty.' (TH V-145-252/1/a)

Tuesday 16 October

At the end of the lessons the organisers were really surprised to see in the university canteen that a handwritten appeal which called to a student assembly on that day 7 p.m. was pinned up everywhere (document 2)

As it was not them who initiated a student assembly in the great hall of the Ady Square building – because they had an agreement with the Chancellor the previous day that they would not keep a general assembly – they started the dispute with the leaders of AWY in the student club.

A police report made on 23 August, 1957 said the followings about the birth of the above mentioned appeal: ‘Concerning the assembly kept on 16 October, Comrade Görög also said that originally they wanted to hold it in the student club (Dugonics Square) with a restricted number, but so many people wanted to join that the club would not have been enough. The party and AWY organs of the Faculty of Arts decided to announce a general assembly in the great hall of the Ady Square building on placards as they were afraid that a major number of youth would get out into the street and turn the event into a demonstration. The 3 or 4 placards were made by Vilmos Földi, the AWY secretary of the arts faculty and Mária Bukovinszky arts student and these bills were set on various places. Comrade Görög also remarked that some party members and AWY functionaries decided to try to keep the assembly’s course on the correct path with comments. But it did not work because their speakers were browbeaten and hissed.’¹²

The AWY leader of the Faculty of Natural Sciences gave the following answer on 26 August 1957: ‘As I mentioned earlier, Imre Tóth informed me on 16 October around 5 p.m. when we could meet those students who set up the strike and the new organisation. But I was already informed in the morning that far more serious things were going to be prepared; the fly-sheets mentioned in the record could have been seen at every faculty pinned up on the doors. In that atmosphere the organisers could direct students into the student club

to keep a gathering. With that crowd they could force their will on us, could declare the dissolution of AWY and then march into the great hall at Ady Square where their issues could have been accepted by a general assembly. We saw it clearly that if they would manage – knowing the mood of the crowd excited by them – that would burst into street demonstrations. In order to avoid this we announced on bills a general assembly into the great hall of Ady Square building to separate the mass from its leaders and form a common standpoint before the assembly, which would be transmitted towards the public of the gathering.’¹³

But the common standpoint expected by the AWY leader did not go through at the meeting of the organisers and the AWY leaders in the student club during the afternoon.

The leaders of AWY strictly rejected (in a quite understandable manner) the thought of a youth organisation independent from AWY, while the decisive majority of the organisers insisted on the original issues. The AWY leader of the Faculty of Natural Sciences said the followings about the inefficiency of the talk: ‘During the conversation kept at 5 p.m. 16 October 1956, the AWY was represented by Miklós Kuszin city AWY secretary, Géza Sipos organising secretary, Sándor Ábrahám AWY committee secretary and me. AHUCS was represented by about 20 students from every faculty of the two universities; I can name András Lejtényi, Tamás Kiss, Imre Tóth, Pál Vezényi and Iván Abrudbányai. András Lejtényi and Tamás Kiss described their point of view in connection with Russian language and Attila József Alliance during the talk. They stated they wanted to institute the new youth alliance on that day. They raised the issue of naming organisation Attila József Alliance or AHUCS. We declared that we agreed with the correct claims of the students and in our opinion we were able and ready to solve the problems since that kind of activity had been going on for months within AWY. However, as that kind of anarchistic form could bring youth into trouble and could be the starting point of a Poznan like counter-revolution, we protested against it and rejected it on the ground of feeling responsible for socialism and proletarian

dictatorship. Finally, we called their attention to the severity and the consequences of the case for which they had to take responsibility. Despite the previous messages, they secluded themselves to form a common point with us and they threatened us with the crowd. In the end they, especially Lejtényi and Tamás Kiss, intercepted any further communication with us, the AHUCS representatives stood up and left to the words of Lejtényi: 'come on lads, masses are waiting for us'. They went to Ady Square, where the larger part of the youth of the university had been waiting for them for some time.'¹⁴

During the student club meeting, the organisers had an argument whether the new organisation should operate beside or within AWY. Finally they decided with a 75 percent majority to form an organisation beside AWY. Here they also decided to suggest the formation of Association of Hungarian University and College Students, AHUCS instead of Student Alliance.

They also discussed that in case of getting the opportunity they would take the lead of the Ady Square student assembly, Tamás Kiss would be the directing chairman, András Lejtényi and Imre Tóth would describe the aims and structure of the new organisation according to the previously discussed rules and regulations. The so-called presidency would consist of Dezső Gönczöl, Imre Tóth, János Ambrus, Pál Vezényi, László Székely, Ferenc Csonti and a medical student, Károly Hámori.

When the organisers reached Ady Square, the Auditorium Maximum had already been full of at least a thousand students, who were waiting for the beginning of the assembly.

The teacher's desk on the platform was still abandoned. Then the organisers made a quick decision. As it had been discussed in the student club, they went to the platform and sat down as the representatives of a 'presidency'. Tamás Kiss opened the assembly. He acted as directing chairman and shortly proposed their ideas. Then András Lejtényi and Imre Tóth gave full details of the scheme of the rules and regulations of AHUCS. The participants voted about the scheme, then separately about getting free from AWY and that

AHUCS should formulate political claims. Finally they declared the birth of the new organisation. The participants of the assembly also approved of the proposal that the formerly mentioned executive committee of 18 to be established later should make the rules and regulations and the programme of AHUCS final, and then should present these towards the new student assembly held on 20 October.

László Farkas, an art student, raised the atmosphere of the meeting with reciting his poem written on that day titled *Before the Great Journey* (document 3).

Some months later, during the investigation, the events were recalled by the AWY leader of the Faculty of Natural Sciences, who had taken part in the assembly: 'After the student club meeting I rushed to the university party committee to inform the comrades, then we went to the meeting together. When we arrived, the assembly had already been started by Lejtényi and his mates, and there was such a huge crowd that we could hardly get into the hall. At my arrival I heard Lejtényi taking the floor. He told the people that they were those altruist patriots who dared to take the risk for the nation to start that movement and form the new alliance of university students, AHUCS. Lejtényi introduced the new alliance, then Imre Tóth propounded the scheme of the rules and regulations of AHUCS. He stated that AHUCS would be a non-political organisation, free from the party, the government and other organisations, here the people started to hiss and they claimed that AHUCS had to deal with politics. Tóth withdrew his words and started to explain the aims of AHUCS in harmony with the mood of the crowd and he considered AHUCS as a replacement of the communist AWY. Meanwhile a man named Székely (as I can recall) from the Faculty of Natural Sciences read up the university reform programme, formerly worked out by the faculty AWY leaders as the programme of AHUCS, not even mentioning that it was made by AWY. Furthermore, our former conversation was rather falsely transmitted towards the students, as if we were the obstacles before even the realistic requests. So was created quite an anti-AWY atmosphere and finally those who would have liked to make

a speech not only about the mistakes but also about the results of AWY were not allowed to speak. The meeting ended up in a rather right-wing, nationalist, anti-party mood.’¹⁵

After declaring the formation of AHUCS came the formulation of the programme (first of all the so-called academic and social claims): reducing the national defence lessons, liberating Marxist education from dogmatism and proposals to improve the living standards of students, such as the problem of youth hostels, student welfare committees, public transport discounts etc. At the beginning there were suggestions which clamoured for the right of making free theoretical debates, the abolishment of political screening; they pressed for the substantive reform of the newspaper of the university, *Szegedi Egyetem*, so that it could actually become the free forum for students. As the atmosphere rose, more and more daring political claims were formulated by the university and college students to correct the mistakes of the ‘Rákosi-Gerő’ leadership.

An art student, Tivadar Putnik (who was removed from his home and was excluded from the university during the 50s because of his Serbian origin) even claimed the withdrawal of the Russian troops.

László Székely, who was appointed to write the minutes of the meeting by the organisers, made the following testimony: ‘I sat beside Tamás Kiss during the assembly of 16 October. I made the record. Tamás Kiss was also in the presidency. The questions that were raised during the assembly were the ones which were formerly discussed in the student club. Tivadar Putnik read up a list of 10 wild, far-right claims and demanded that the AHUCS should accept them. The presidency did not share these points but we could not break the way of the assembly because they threatened us that they would march to Dóm Square, so rather we transformed the assembly into a general mass meeting. In most cases it was the law student participants of the presidency that made different proposals concerning the further direction of the meeting. The atmosphere was so overwhelming that several counter-revolutionary claims were accepted during the voting:

1. The withdrawal of the Soviet troops
2. Public trial for Mihály Farkas and his mates
3. Imre Nagy to leadership
4. Reconsideration of commercial treaties
5. Secession from the Warsaw Treaty and neutrality.

Beside these other claims were also approved but I cannot recall them.’¹⁶

Another member of the presidency, Imre Tóth evoked the events in his testimony made on 11 August 1957 as follows: ‘We also went to the general assembly, which started at 7 p. m. When we got there, the hall was already full of people but the presidency members were nowhere to be seen. We went to the platform and sat down at the desk, then Tamás Kiss, the member of the presidency, opened the session as chairman, he stated that they wanted to create an organisation defending the interests of the students, the rules and regulations of which were read up by Lejtényi. Then a feverish debate evolved whether the organisation should operate beside or within AWY. About 98% of the voters decided to operate free from AWY. There was another argument whether the AHUCS should involve itself in politics or not. When I rose to speak, I required a non-political organisation. The students temporarily accepted the rules and regulations with some modifications. Then the presidency resigned since we considered the meeting closed. But we stayed at the desk and with Tamás Kiss as directing chairman, the students’ general assembly continued with speeches and claims. *Question:* What kinds of claims were formulated? *Answer:* Some pressed for solving the economic and social problems of the students. But there were some rather nationalist, counter-revolutionary political claims as well, such as the withdrawal of the Soviet troops, bringing Rákosi and Farkas to justice, restoring the coat of arms of Kossuth, clearing the problem of uranium ore.’¹⁷

At the end of the assembly a student raised the issue of the unjust peace treaty of Trianon and he recommended adding the revision of borders to the list of political claims. During the following days the so called committee of 18 decided not to add this claim to the

programme of AHUCS. Despite the above mentioned facts, the prosecutor formulated the followings in the indictment (during the offset against the participants) in 1957: 'During the general assembly revisionist claims were also raised. They pressed for the reunion with Bácska, Transsylvania and Felvidék but it is characteristic that the revision of Austrian Burgenland was not even mentioned.'

Certainly, the regime knew about the spontaneous general assembly and the happenings there. One of the leading workmates of the local organisation of the Hungarian Workers' Party made the following testimony at the trial of József Perbíró dr. in 1957: 'The next important event in October (I do not know the exact date) was the formation of AHUCS at the university. One morning, as I went into the PC [political committee] I heard the news. Comrade Németh, comrade Ábrahám, Varga and Kovács from the county appeared because they wanted to investigate the case. The whole apparatus made a session, the university party and AWY secretaries were there. They brought the proclamation of AHUCS and comrade Németh warned us to be careful concerning the proclamation because it shows counter-revolutionary tendencies. There was a constituent assembly of AHUCS on that evening on the faculty of arts, I wanted to go there but there were people even on the corridors, I could not get in so I went home.'¹⁸

After the assembly, during the night hours the leaders of AHUCS formulated an appeal and made some copies which were sent to their friends and acquaintances learning at other Hungarian universities on the following day (document 4).

The appeal titled 'Student Brothers!' stated: 'We, the students of the University of Szeged, Medical University of Szeged, College of Pedagogical Studies of Szeged and the College of Music Teacher-Training formed our own university youth organisation on 16 October 1956, the Alliance of Hungarian University and College Students. Our aim is the freedom of thought, to brush off the burden forced on us by Stalin and Rákosi [...] We, the students of Szeged made the first step, we call you to join us!!! Let's spread AHUCS to a nationwide organisation.'

Dezső Gönczöl made a testimony about making the appeal on 17 June 1957: 'Besides the programme scheme we made the appeal aiming the other universities of Hungary on 16 October 1956. We stated the formation of AHUCS and suggested that they should also initiate the formation of the organisation at their universities. As I can recall, the appeal contained the formerly worked out points of our programme. The appeal sent to the other universities of the country was formulated by András Lejtényi, Tamás Kiss and Abrudbányai law students.'¹⁹

The same night (taking the accepted modifying proposals into consideration) the organisers reformulated the rules and regulations and the programme scheme.

Testimony record, made on 21 August 1957: 'On 16 October 1956, in the Gyula Juhász Youth Hostel at 11 p. m., I heard the sounds of a typewriter in the reading hall. I went in to have a look what is going on there and I saw that Tamás Kiss, András Lejtényi, Imre Tóth, Iván Abrudbányai and others (I do not know their names) were typing the rules and regulations and the programme scheme of AHUCS. They made several copies. I picked up a copy and read it then I left. These rules and regulations were presented to the participants of the envoy electing AHUCS meeting of the law faculty during the following day.'²⁰

Two days later (18 October 1956) only the local press, *Délmagyarország* reported shortly about the student assembly: 'General assembly of the students of Szeged. The university and college students of Szeged held a general meeting in the great hall of the Ady Square building on Tuesday evening. About one and a half thousand students took part in it. As a result of the debate they formed a new youth organisation, the Association of Hungarian University and College Students, AHUCS and its local body, which operates beside AWY. Then the constituent assembly turned into a mass meeting. The youngsters criticised the present forms and system of foreign language, marxism-leninism and national defence lessons and they decided to transmit their claims towards the leaders of the

country, also concerning some aspects of the political life. Among other claims they they demanded the abolishment death penalty, a public trial for those who proved to be guilty in some trespasses, first of all in the Rajk-case, proportioning salaries, regulating the salaries of people having low income, alliance with Yugoslavia and improving communication.'

Wednesday 17 October

On that day the students organised meetings at the faculties, where they discussed the new and partly accepted proposals of the general assembly held on the previous day, they elected their envoys, three persons from every faculty into the committee of 18 and they formulated further proposals, concerning the educational and political programme of AHUCS.

The Faculty of Arts elected Pál Vezényi, Tivadar Putnik and Antal Juhász.

The vice dean, József Perbíró dr. made the following testimony about the law faculty student meeting on 14 August 1957: 'The second case happened at 10 a.m. 17 October, when András Lejtényi, Tamás Kiss and Imre Tóth asked me to announce a dean-break from noon to 13 o'clock, because they wanted to congregate a student assembly where they would discuss the problems of youth and elect the law faculty preparing committee. I asked the party secretary concerning this question, too. He objected to giving a dean-break in a teaching period but he agreed that they would hold their meeting during the afternoon. Albert Kónya, the Secretary of Education arrived at 10 a.m. and had a meeting Dezső Baróti dr. where I was promptly asked in.'²¹

Dezső Baróti dr. (who was in Budapest at the Ministry of Education) answered the following concerning the reasons of the secretary's visit on 10 June 1957: 'Sőtér Deputy Secretary told me that there was an uprisal in Szeged and Secretary Kónya would come and investigate the case.'²²

József Perbíró dr. recalled the events as follows: 'The deans of different faculties, the party and AWY leaders were at present in the Chancellor's office and Secretary Kónya told us he came to Szeged because he wanted to deal with the problems of the youth. He heard in Budapest that there were also problems in Szeged and he wanted to get a clear picture of it. About half past eleven I asked him how I should have handled the situation at the Faculty of Law, concerning the planned student assembly at noon, what kind of answer I should have given to the students. Kónya answered that he would think it through. I urged him several times during the conversation; finally, at five minutes to noon, he said that the meeting should be kept – in his presence. Then I left a notice for the law students that the meeting could be held and we went with Kónya to the assembly, where I said some kind of introduction then Kónya greeted the youth. Here Tamás Kiss, András Lejtényi and the law students also participated and they asked questions and Kónya answered them. During the meeting Tamás Kiss and András Lejtényi (I cannot remember properly) gave a short detail of the aims of AHUCS. We left and, as I know, they elected the AHUCS deputies of the law faculty.'²³

Here the Secretary promised that all student claims concerning university reforms would be soon examined and a decision would be made about them.

In the second part of the meeting the 300 students elected the three deputies of the Faculty of Law on the basis of nomination: Tamás Kiss, Imre Tóth and Attila Fedor, a fourth year student. Although András Lejtényi did not receive enough votes, he took part in the set up.

During the afternoon and the evening the committee of 18 already confirmed by election had a 'regular' session. A copy of the first part of the hand-written record has survived in the police files (document 5).

On that session only the elected envoys had the right to vote.

They discussed every detail and made a decision about every point of the rules and regulations. They included a sentence on the basis of a modifying proposal that 'a party operating in the spirit of true

Marxism-Leninism should direct the country'. They also stated that 'we have to require, not ask. Maintain the revolutionary atmosphere'. And the last note in the remained record: 'Programme. That is what the crowd is interested in. Concrete proposals. A university student image must be created.

1. Sovereign university

a) Abolishing political screening...'

Unfortunately, further parts of the record have not been explored yet.

István Sőtér, the Vice Secretary worked out a proposal for the sake of giving responses to some crucial questions emerging in higher education. These documents were published by Zoltán Ólmosi in an article titled *University Edifications* (Magyar Nemzet, October 1990, p. 10). This proposal was countersigned by the member of the political committee, György Marosán, who wrote the followings on the document: 'Theoretically I agree, but awareness is needed for fear of turning the university pimps' mood into an assault against communists and soviets' (see also the article of László Bálint in Magyar Fórum, 21th October 1999).

'The claims of the students of Szeged were echoed by the whole country within a few days. So it is no wonder that György Marosán, when he was sent to Szeged by the party leaders, saw the only solution in violent oppression: 'I did not obviate the charge, I will go there if it is necessary but in one condition, if I would get a licence to command fire in the name of the party and the government' (Frigyes Kahler: *Fusillade In Szeged*. In: Szegedi Műhely, 1-4./1998, p. 17).

During these days a party delegation led by Ernő Gerő had negotiations with Tito in Yugoslavia. Those party leaders who stayed at home were quite uncertain so the proposal of Marosán concerning the fire command was not accepted by the Secretary of the Central Management of HWP, Lajos Ács.

Thursday 18 October

There was a college meeting at the College of Pedagogical Studies on that day.' Among the teachers Gyula Pálfi assistant lecturer assisted in organising the college assembly. The meeting of the university students on 16 October stimulated our students. During this meeting the mistakes of AWY were thoroughly discussed and the issue of establishing an independent university and college student organisation was raised. They formulated their requisitions and accepted them' (*The Summarising Assessment of the October Events*, 1 April 1957).

The College of Pedagogical Studies elected Dezső Gönczöl, Vilmos Ács and Gábor Jancsó. They suggested the restoration of the Kossuth coat of arms, urged the bringing back of the prisoners of war and pressed for the retransmission of the noon bell on the radio.

The AHUCS committee of 18 appointed Imre Tóth, Róbert Hegyi medical and Pál Szabó natural science students to travel to Budapest and invite Imre Nagy to their planned general assembly on 20 October and get some information from the authorities concerning the possibilities of the legal permission of the operation of AHUCS. The appointed persons travelled to Budapest.

Imre Tóth and Róbert Hegyi made the following testimony (8 March and 16 August 1957) about the events that happened in Budapest on 19 and 20 October during the enquiry: 'On 17 or 18 October, after the general assembly, I travelled to Budapest with Pál Szabó natural science and Róbert Hegyi medical students to Imre Nagy to invite him to our next student meeting in Szeged. He was not at home; we talked to his wife who suggested that we may have come back the following morning because he had had to go for a talk. Then we went to the editorial board of Szabad Ifjúság to get some information what they published about the session of AHUCS of Szeged and where could we go concerning the problems of organising.

They advised us to go to Béla Szalai, the member of the Central Management of HWP, who was the former Chief Secretary of AHUCS. So we went to the residence of the Central Management

where they had already known about us since they got a phone call from the editorial board about our soon arrival.

We found Béla Szalai there and we had a conversation with Péter Hanák, the leader of the Department of Universities. We talked about what kind of relationship AHUCS should have with AWY. Szalai and Hanák suggested that AHUCS should operate within AWY and later a youth parliament should be established. Then the following day we visited the Central Management of AWY and spoke with József Szakali and other members of the management in the presence of Péter Hanák. Here the role, mistakes and the false structure of AWY were mentioned and also the layer-organisations to be made and organisations representing the interests of peasant-worker students. The name of the organisation had not been declared yet, only the AHUCS as an organisation defending student interest was stated. We came to an agreement that it would be the task of the youth parliament to solve the structural problems and if the other universities of the country would find the operation of AHUCS to be correct then every university could form the local body of AHUCS. After leaving the residence we travelled back to Szeged by car.²⁴

Imre Tóth found it important to go to the Faculty of Law where he wanted to make steps by asking for some help from a friend of his. On our way there we visited the College of Drama and Film where Imre could not find his acquaintance. I do not know what he did there. Later we got a telegram from them. He sketched the aim in a small meeting on the law faculty, asked for some help and advised them to form their local AHUCS organisation. The students accepted our proposal. We went to the editorial board of *Hétfői Hírlap*, to Iván Boldizsár, the editor in chief to gain some publicity for AHUCS. We informed him about our plans and asked the address of Imre Nagy, he gave it to us. He called Szabad Ifjúság and Imre Tatár, one of the editors invited us for the afternoon. Till then we went to the flat of Imre Nagy in Pasarét but we could not find him. His wife said that he was busy and he probably could not travel to Szeged to the assembly. We asked her to leave us a message through *Hétfői Hírlap* about when he could meet us.

We received the answer at 9 a.m. that he could meet us. Previously we had read up our programme to his wife and she had promised us to pass it to her husband. Because of the coincidence with the talk at the Central Management of AWY we could not meet Imre Nagy. Imre Tóth asked the people at Szabad Ifjúság not to ignore the problem of AHUCS but to write about it with an open heart. I suggested that we should go to the party centre because the party secretary of the law faculty asked us: ‘Do not you worry about getting jailed because of this organising?’

That is why we wanted to go to the party. We went to Béla Szalai, Central Managing Secretary, who formerly was the president of AHUCS. Imre Tóth read up our programme. Béla Szalai disagreed; he said it would undermine the unity of the youth. He talked about the experiences of the old youth working movement. He mentioned that we should not lead the crowd out to the streets because ‘one Poznan’ was far enough. He told us to visit the Central Management of AWY. We went there and spoke with József Szokoli, the First Secretary, Ervin Hollós, Béla Kelen and László Orbán. Imre Tóth described our plans to them. We were refused as by Béla Szalai. But they admitted their mistakes and submitted the renewal of AWY. Imre Tóth said that he had no right to get into such negotiations. They said that the second general assembly had been announced in Szeged and János Gosztanyi would be at present from the Central Management of AWY. They brought us back by car. János Gosztanyi talked with the leaders of AHUCS of Szeged and warned us not to speak about his presence.²⁵

Throughout the afternoon the members of the AHUCS committee of 18 and the leaders of AWY started negotiations in the university building of AWY. The leader of the AWY delegation made the following testimony about the contents and the negative outcome of the two-day-long negotiations on 26 August 1957: ‘Our aim was to form a common point of view and to lead the movement towards the right direction. At the beginning it seemed to work because – in words – they were willing to cooperate with AWY and to reject the extremities of the assembly held on 16 October. However, when a

common declaration was formulated which could have turned the direction of the events, they withdrew from their position and were not willing to sign the declaration.

Then the debate was about claims, I can recall the followings.

1. Reducing the status of Russian language into a facultative subject.
2. Marxism should be taught in seminars and its grade mark should be ignored considering the average of the marks.
3. Reducing the number of national defence lessons and its grade mark should be ignored considering the average of the marks.
4. Abolishing political screening in every field of economic life.
5. Abolishing monstrous salaries.
6. Electing Imre Nagy and György Lukács into the Political Committee of the HWP

Besides these there were some right wing claims but I cannot evoke them. There was a serious discussion about the general assembly planned to be held on 20 October and their rejection considering the leadership of the party. Accepting the principles of the 20th Congress – no, they just pretended. In the end we could not come to an agreement after two and a half days of negotiating.²⁶

Another member of the AWY delegation said the followings on 21 August 1957: ‘We had discussions with the deputies of AHUCS on 18-20 October 1956 concerning the problems of university students, especially the activity of AHUCS.

Kiss was one of those who stood for the direction of AHUCS. He claimed firmly the independence of AHUCS from AWY. He agreed and promoted the execution of the claims read up by the AHUCS deputies. They pressed for:

1. Abolishing political screening.
2. Regulating the facultative education of Russian language.
3. Reducing the lesson number of Marxism, it should be taught only in seminars and ignored in the result of an exam.
4. Reducing the number of national defence lessons and they should be ignored in the result of an exam.

5. Holding and cancelling a general assembly on 20 October (Saturday), there were a lot of discussions about it.

We, the envoys of AWY refused the claims except for the facultative status of Russian language and could not form a common point of view in the end.²⁷

Friday, 19 October

The local press, *Délmagyarország* reported about the founding and the aims of AHUCS in a long article written by József Appor in the morning (document 5).

The article states that: 'They wanted and want to do for their own case which is coincidentally a vital, important case for future intellectuals and for the whole country.

AHUCS was established in Szeged in the Auditorium Maximum of the university throughout frantic and brave theoretical debates. The atmosphere of the assembly was given by the criticism of the masses. They criticized the educational system of the university, and then the constituent assembly turned into a mass meeting where they discussed political questions.

The student assembly showed that the new organisation has such forces on which they can stand.'

The members of the AHUCS committee of 18 continued the negotiations with the leaders of AWY throughout the morning, about which a member of the AWY delegation said the followings on 23 August 1957: 'Iván Abrudbányai law student also took part in the debates of 18, 19 and 20 October between AHUCS and AWY in Szeged as an AHUCS deputy. He was definitely more serene than Lejtényi and Kiss, however, he also firmly stated that AHUCS agreed with the political direction of the party theoretically but in practice they were independent from the party, the government and other bodies. They did not let any kind of person and organisation regulate their cases. He firmly stated that they needed an organisation

defending interests completely free from AWY which would deal with the cases of university and college students.²⁸

During the afternoon and the evening the AHUCS committee of 18 formulated the final version of the mass meeting announced for the following day. They asked József Perbíró dr., the vice-dean to direct the meeting and he undertook the task. Dezső Gönczöl was appointed to open the meeting, András Lejtényi to unfold the final version of the rules and regulations and Tamás Kiss to read up the programme scheme. They only had a debate around setting up the political programme.

Dezső Gönczöl said the followings about that part of the story on 22 August 1957: 'We had a debate at the set up of the programme scheme. Because of the Polish events we thought that the claim of the withdrawal of the Russian troops should be omitted. We could not see the Polish situation clearly, because we thought communication was really flat in that matter. So we did not confess this claim on the assembly of 20 October, the audience booed – why did we change what had been accepted once?'²⁹

In the evening Róbert Bohó arrived at Szeged from Budapest, introduced himself in front of the committee of 18 as the deputy of the Petőfi Circle. He tried to convince the participants in the student club not to form a new, independent youth organisation, but to stay within the framework of AWY. László Székely recalled the events as follows: 'The deputy of the Petőfi Circle talked to the students and offered to form a local Petőfi Circle instead of AHUCS.'

As the leaders of AHUCS 'did not even want to hear about staying within AWY', Róbert Bohó suggested to Lejtényi and Kiss that they should meet the leaders of Petőfi Circle in Budapest.

A secretary of the Central Leading Board of AWY said the followings in 1957, concerning the appointment of Róbert Bohó and his two mates: 'These men were appointed by the CLB of AWY and sent down to Szeged, but we agreed with Ervin Hollós secretary at the CLB of AWY in Budapest that they would present themselves in Szeged as the envoys of Petőfi Circle, so they would have a bigger influence on the youth (so this was a tactical step of the CLB of AWY).'³⁰

The invitation to Budapest and the conversation with the leaders of Petőfi Circle was not rejected by the committee of 18, so András Lejtényi and Tamás Kiss travelled to Budapest on the following day.

Throughout the evening the Attila József Circle of Szeged, formerly established by the local party and AWY bodies, kept its first session, a debate about the situation of the intellectuals. The president of the circle was Dezső Baróti dr., the Chancellor and its secretary was Béla Csákány, an AWY secretary.

According to a summarising report – made on 17 July 1957 by the political investigations' department of Csongrád County Police – a hand-written appeal which urged the people to promote the claims of the students appeared in several factories

The leaders of the local party bodies ostensibly did not feel the seriousness of the situation yet, despite the fact that they knew about every little step within a few hours. It is characteristic that Károly Németh, the First Secretary of the party's county committee said the followings during 'the debate of up to date political questions' in the free party event of the medical university on the previous day: 'we agree with the university events and the questions claimed by the youngsters, but do not do it heedlessly ... He especially stressed the appearance of unhealthy nationalism which distorts the expression of the true love of our nation towards the Soviet Union' (Délmagyarország, 20 October 1956).

Saturday, 20 October

According to the decision accepted on the constituent assembly (16 October), the organisers of AHUCS made preparations in the Auditorium Maximum of the Ady Square building for keeping the mass meeting. The students set up a microphone and an amplifier, speakers in the stairway and the corridor because they expected more visitors than the capacity of the great hall, since the citizens of the city already knew about the happenings of the constituent assembly, and as

– although it was a weekend – the students did not travel home to their families.

Dezső Gönczöl depicted the atmosphere before the mass meeting on 27 July 1957: 'I went in at 14 p.m. and I saw there was no need to worry: they set up the speakers in the stairway, too. The assembly started at four p.m. and we, Tamás Kiss, Iván Abrudbányai, Vilmos Ács, Gábor Jancsó, two men and a woman from the Petőfi Circle and two envoys from a university of Budapest (I cannot recall their names), met before it and had a short conversation in the neighbouring room.

Lajos Gosztonyi represented (sic!) the AWY centre, there was a medical student and me. There was no sessionlike talk. I heard there that professor Perbíró would direct the meeting instead of Imre Nagy, the radio was there and a journalist from the *Hétfői Hírlap* and several universities sent greeting telegrams. There was feverish miling, small groups gathered around the members of Petőfi Circle and Gosztonyi. Gosztonyi was harshly criticised that the AWY took the wind out of our sails and 'Free Youth' announced a student parliament in Budapest though it would have been our right as initiators. Despite these harms he was invited, but he did not come as I know.'³¹

During the conversation (before the meeting) János Gosztonyi, secretary of the Central Leading Board of AWY informed some members of the committee of 18 about the AWY secretary session planned on 22 October by the AWY CLB, on which they wanted to fix up a student parliament and they wanted to invite the AWY leaders of all Hungarian universities. He also invited the envoys of AHUCS. They came to an agreement that András Lejtényi and Tamás Kiss would travel to Budapest – they had already accepted the invitation of Petőfi Circle the previous day – and would take part on the session.

The mass meeting of AHUCS started somewhere between 15 and 16 o'clock.

The members of the presidency were: József Perbíró dr., vice-dean, who was asked to be directing chairman and the appointed members of the committee of 18, Tamás Kiss, Dezső Gönczöl, Pál Vezényi, Vilmos Ács and József Vörös university and college students, a girl

from the Faculty of Natural Sciences and András Lejtényi, who would introduce the rules and regulations.

Dezső Baróti dr., the Chancellor and professor Gábor Fodor sat there in the first row.

The leaders of AWY and the party neither took part in the presidency nor took the floor as the representatives of their organisations. The regular form of address, 'comrade' was omitted, the participants used 'friends, dear friends, Mr. Chancellor' instead.

The Hungarian Radió was represented by György Garai – due to the invitation of Gyula Pálfi, an assistant lecturer – who recorded most parts of the assembly. The press was represented by Péter Halász, the journalist of *Hétfői Hírlap*, Tibor Markovics, the editor of *Délmagyarország* and others.

The great hall got overcrowded, there was nowhere even to stand. Lots of people gathered also in the stairway and the corridor and here stood citizens of the city, high school students and adults too.

Later (during the nineties the photos of Béla Liebman were revealed) a photographer from Szeged made pictures of the presidency and the participants and these photos were used by the police during the investigation (folder No. TH O-12797).

The workmate of the weekly newspaper, *Szabadság*, Sándor Ács also made some pictures, because the cover of the journal's next edition (23 October 1956) was his photograph titled *Arguing Youth*.

Several envoys arrived from the universities of the country and the organisers received greeting telegrams to the following address: AHUCS Szeged.

József Perbíró dr. opened the assembly after singing the national anthem, then Dezső Gönczöl took the floor.

Dezső Gönczöl read up the scheme of the rules and regulations of the independent university youth organisation (founded on 16 October) which was made by the committee elected by the students.

He also mentioned that the organisers got in touch with the other universities of the country. He called attention to the matter that 'the participants should remain calm and placid in order to introduce and

talk through the scheme in a democratic way.' He stressed that 'before stepping forward we owe the workers and peasants in the name of the university youth and intellectuals. So we promise that we help them to make their problems public and back up their claims'.

After his speech the tape record began and it was continuous.

Then Tamás Kiss read up the greeting telegrams, first the telegram of the University of Agriculture then the greetings of the AWY Committee of the Faculty of Agricultural Engineering.

Then András Lejtényi introduced and explained the scheme, they made a debate concerning the proposals and finally József Perbíró directed the vote point by point and in general. At the end the assembly accepted the rules and regulations of AHUCS (THO-12797).

The following points need to be stressed: 'Chapter I The character and task of the alliance: AHUCS is the organisation of the masses of the university and college students which include the whole spectrum of youngsters learning at higher education. [...] The principle of AHUCS is democracy concerning the widest range of it. Considering this principle and in order to avoid the one person leadership, we only can make decisions by the majority vote of the members. For the sake of keeping off the harmful system of instructions coming from over, only the members can make a decision. [...] 5. The aim of the alliance is that the highly educated people who are dedicated to represent the mind of the nation should not be an indifferent, passive crowd, a layer of coward, supple and mean ones, however a mass fighting bravely and soulfully for the nation, the country and for a merrier future. These people should not be afraid of talking about the truth, but rather they should serve the nation and the country with their skills, knowledge and ability (huge applause). [...] Explanation: the system of Stalin and Rákosi brought up intellectual cripples and sycophants. They used merciless and inhuman tools against those who dared to raise their voices in the name of rationality and humanity against their brutality and failures. They tried to teach us rough selfishness, unprincipledness, repression and how to make a leg with some success. They wanted to tread down the desire of freedom coming



from our souls, they wanted to turn us servants accepting their perfidies obediently. The spirit of the 20th congress swept these intentions away. A free, fruitful atmosphere came into being, but the remains of the past still hamper us in unfolding. The aim of our youth organisation is to sweep these remains away from our consciousness to the perfection of our nation, country and ourselves (applause). [...] Complement of the 5th point: AHUCS should also represent the interests of the worker and peasant youth on every occasion. [...] Ferenc Mihalik, medical student: I suggest that the acknowledged and accepted rules and regulations and the decisions should be multiplied and given to the members and then we send them to our worker and peasant friends in every part of the country to let them know that we stand beside them concerning the serious representation of interests. (That is true!) And I would like to see it being realised within a few days. [...] Complement of the 1st point of Chapter IV: the university council should send liaison persons into the factories. And, joining the previous speaker, these liaison persons should popularize our claims and the rules and regulations in the factories. [...] The leaders of the university stand by the formation and aims of AHUCS in their speeches. Dezső Baróti dr., Chancellor: I consider it vital that AHUCS should state its solidarity with worker-peasant youth [...] I de facto admit the formation of AHUCS and I consider this democratic mass the representative of the youth of Szeged. [...] Gábor Fodor dr., member of the academy: Dear Friends! I deeply agree with those democratic aims which were mentioned here and I am really impressed by the moderate, sober voice which characterises every point of the rules and regulations and their justification. The main problem is, as I see it, how can we let the worker-peasant youngsters and high school students know that you feel solidarity towards them. I think the press, for example the papers of Budapest, as the Chancellor has promised it, is going to deal with this question, it would be correct to appoint the leaders as a result of this general assembly – certainly this is only a proposal, I do not want to get involved into the matters of the youth – to formulate a declaration in

which they state their aims, the basic principles of the rules and regulations as solidarity with worker-peasant youth (huge applause).'

During the debate they read up a telegram coming from the students of the University of Technology and another from the College of Agricultural Engineering, which resulted enormous enthusiasm.

The representatives of the press also took the floor.

Péter Halász: 'Dear friends, first of all let me do welcome you. I would like to secure you that tomorrow the public of the country will get a clear picture about this assembly in the following edition of *Hétfői Hírlap*.' His speech received noisy approval.

The editor of *Délmagyarország*: 'Délmagyarország absolutely agrees with the claims of the university youth of Szeged. It is true that there was only a short article about the previous assembly. The editorial board decided to publish the whole list of claims and proposals of the university youth of Szeged in the tomorrow edition.'

After accepting the rules and regulations, the programme scheme made by the committee of 18 was introduced.

Tamás Kiss read up the claims concerning the social situation of the students and the questions of the schedule first and these were backed and accepted.

Then he introduced the political claims:

- We press for bringing those into justice who are responsible for the crimes of the last era and the trials should be public.
- We press for the free press; the press should comment everything in full details.
- We press for reelecting Imre Nagy and György Lukács into the Central Leading Board.
- We claim a salary reform. The upper limit of income coming from the state should be announced and the improvement of low salaries should be accelerated.
- We press for abolishing death penalty concerning political crimes.
- We press for a refounded, free, democratic system of elections.
- We claim that university youth should play a greater role in directing the political and other matters of the country.'

Every announced political claim was approved noisily, with long applause, with 'That's it!' shouts, in addition some speakers suggested the following additional claims:

- The Kossuth coat of arms and the national celebration of 15 March should be restored.
- Russian troops should be withdrawn.

György Halász, fourth grade medical student: 'I would like to complete the political claims. I think one of the strongest desires of every Hungarian people is that the tens or the hundreds of thousands of Russians should be withdrawn from the country.' This proposal was rejected by the directing chairman but it was soulfully backed by the mass.

- The mandatory delivery of peasants' surplus should be abolished.
- University autonomy should be announced.

Later the assembly accepted the advanced programme by voting.

At the end of the meeting the participants raised the issue of a demonstration in Dóm Square, however, József Perbíró dr. did not agree with it and persuaded them to 'stay within the walls'.

The meeting was closed by singing Szózat and József Perbíró dr. recalled the atmosphere following the assembly in his memoirs: 'There was hardly any possibility to move in the crowd streaming home. The claims of the university youth were argued in a feverish manner in the street. When I reached home, my landlady said that she had just been informed through the radio about the university youth meeting in Szeged.'

Délmagyarország reported thoroughly about the assembly and the political claims apart from the withdrawal of the Russian troops the following day, 21 October (document 6).

After the assembly the Chancellor invited the members of the presidency and several other people to his office where 'Chancellor Dezső Baróti, the vice-chancellor, journalists, members of the radio, the leaders of AHUCS, András Lejtényi, Tamás Kiss, Iván

Abrudbányai, László Székely, Vilmos Ács, Ferenc Csonti, Gábor Jancsó, me and several envoys of other universities were at present. [...] I went into the chancellor's room later because I was in his office. Tamás Kiss, László Székely, Vilmos Ács and Iván Abrudbányai were there. We talked about fixing up delegations from Szeged to other university cities. Tamás Kiss told us to send envoys to other universities the following day. They had to carry the rules and regulations and the programme with them' – testified Dezső Gönczöl.³² Dezső Baróti made the following testimony concerning the event: 'After the AHUCS assembly of 20 October the members of the presidency came up into my room. Some journalists were also there, like Péter Halász from Hétfői Hírlap and someone from the radio [...] Halász said that he would report about the AHUCS assembly in his newspaper. I asked him to be careful and added that some »dumb« speeches should be omitted. He promised that.'³³

Imre Tóth testified the followings on 29 April 1957: 'We went into a room after the meeting, me, Iván Abrudbányai, Ferenc Csonti from the Faculty of Natural Sciences, Tamás Kiss law student, Károly Hámosi and János Ambrus medical students, Miklós Vető law student, Chancellor Dezső Baróti, professor Gábor Fodor, a person called Gönczöl from the College of Pedagogical Studies and several journalists and the workmate of the radio. Dezső Baróti agreed with the facultative status of Russian language. He rejected the view of the immediate withdrawal of the Russian troops, though. He argued that was not the task of the youth, the Warsaw Treaty was still valid and it was our concern, too. The Warsaw Treaty may have been supervised only on the basis of more formal aspects.'³⁴

During the afternoon a delegation of four AWY leaders travelled to Budapest – and later (throughout the night) so did András Lejtényi and Tamás Kiss – by the car of Róbert Bohó.

Sunday, 21 October

Dezső Gönczöl reported about the events of the day as follows: 'We met in the student club on Sunday morning, Iván Abrudbányai, Vilmos Ács, Gábor Jancsó, László Székely, Ferenc Csonti, a girl called Csöpi, József Vörös and other medical students and me. During the talk we appointed the envoys to the university cities. Gábor Jancsó went to Debrecen, Iván Abrudbányai and Vilmos Ács to Pécs, some medical students to Veszprém, Sopron and Győr, I cannot recall their names. Someone was also sent to Miskolc. They departed throughout the afternoon. Everybody chose a city on his own will.'³⁵

Beside Gábor Jancsó János Ambrus also went to Debrecen, István Csete and Károly Hámori medical students to Miskolc and Attila Kádár to Veszprém.

Abrudbányai travelled to Pécs with the car of the Chancellor and Vilmos Ács by motorbike. There are no data about the trips of the other envoys, these questions can only be answered after the research of the events that happened on 22 October in the given university cities.

András Lejtényi and Tamás Kiss arrived in Budapest around dawn and they met the leaders of the Petőfi Circle in the afternoon. Róbert Bohó evoked the events during his testimony made on 30 August 1957: 'It was not me who talked with Lejtényi and Kiss in the given period of time, but Gábor Táncos, the secretary of Petőfi Circle, András Hegedüs, the member of the secretariat and others I did not know. During the conversation Táncos tried to persuade them to cooperate with AWY. Then I left so I do not know who talked about what.'³⁶

Even the leaders of the Petőfi Circle could not persuade the members of AHUCS to break the set up of their organisation and to go on only in cooperation with AWY and following the instructions of them.

One of the deputies of Szeged evokes the event as follows: 'When we said farewell to each other Gábor Táncos noticed 'Pals, you may be right'.'

Szabad Ifjúság also reported about the events on that day, though the short article was quite careful and the essence was ignored.

Szabad Európa Radio was in turn a more precise informer: 'Now comes the news service of the voice of Free Hungary. One-sentence summaries of the latest important news. There has been a break within AWY. The radio of Warsaw still talks about democratisation. Khrushchev and his accompaniment travelled back from Warsaw to Moscow. Negotiations in Zagreb between the Hungarian and Yugoslavian delegations. And now the details. Budapest. There has been a break within AWY. According to the information of Szabad Ifjúság, three thousand university students seceded from the organisation and formed a new, autonomous youth organisation called AHUCS. The students of the Faculty of Arts of Szeged have been arranging meetings for days, at which they have been claiming the foundation of a new, autonomous youth organisation, the realisation of university reforms, orders and socialist democracy. They also decided to form AHUCS during these meetings. Albert Kónya, the Secretary of Education promised to think the claims over. He announced that they would introduce the facultative education of languages. The new university organisation, called AHUCS, stresses in its assembly decrees that AWY could not lead the movement of students, did not fight consequently for their true claims. The journal called Szabad Ifjúság judges the impatience of the students to be just. [...] We transmit the column of Gallicus, Reflektor. The today Reflektor is about the revolution of the youths of Szeged. There is a storm in Szeged, a devastating storm; we could hear it on the official mouthpiece of Budapest. There is a storm in Szeged, indeed, though it is due not to the forces of nature but to the elemental uprisal of young souls. But why do they call it devastating? It is likely to be devastating for the system but may be or surely it is purifying and improving for the nation. So there is a storm in Szeged, an almost revolutionary storm. A storm of not only words and ideals, but also of actions because those youngsters who marched on to the intellectual barricades in the metropolis along river Tisza marched out of AWY as

well and created the Association of Hungarian University and College Students all of a sudden. Let us just think it over what this turn means. Namely AWY was the corral in which the system (not regretting any kind of sacrifice, not boggling at any kind of terror) wanted to force in and did force in youth. Future is ours – they announced. This future has torn down the harness in Szeged and elsewhere, this future left the red corral disdainfully and is waving the same flags with the same slogans on them which were flirted by the youth of 1848. We lost a battle but not the war, said Admiral De Gaulle at the tragic moment of the treading out of France. The young soldiers of the intellectual barricades say the opposite: they won a battle but not the war. [...] Here is the daily news. Our today programme is completely dedicated to the western reactions of the Hungarian student movements. We review the irregularly bulky reports and comments of the large western papers concerning the Hungarian youth events. We read up the account of Gergely Vasvári. Hungarian and Polish words have been catching the eyes of passer-bys on foreign paper stands. Readers can see the events of Warsaw, Szeged and Pécs among the first-page political news. The demonstrations, claims, feverish organising work and the break with AWY of the Hungarian students are considered to be an event of enormous importance and commented in an irregularly bulky and friendly way.'

Gergely Vasvári quoted from the larger American, English, French, Italian and German papers, which stated that: 'the movement of youth is a dramatic one, the students press for better standards of living, rights of freedom and national independence not only for themselves but also for the whole nation. [...] The news of the uprisal of the youth broke through the iron curtain.' The programmes were called back on 23 October 1998 on the basis of the original tape record in Kossuth Radio in the programme called *Forum In The Mirror of Time, The Week of Momentum*.

Throughout the evening the new edition of *Hétféi Hírlap* came out in Budapest, in which Péter Halász reported about the meeting of Szeged on the third page titled *Among Twenty-Year-Olds*. The author

wrote the followings in his letter about the circumstances of the publication to editor László Péter on 17 September 1998: 'Some hours after the assembly I drove back to Budapest. The next day, on Sunday morning, I went into the editorial board, sat down to the typewriter and wrote an 8-10-page long article as I can recall. At noon I did still not hear about my writing so I went to Boldizsár (Iván Boldizsár, the editor in chief) to ask his opinion. I could not get in. His secretary, Erzséber Forgács whispered to me that Lajos Ács, who was the member of the secretariat of the political committee of the party, had arrived at the editorial board an hour earlier. Ács ordered Boldizsár to get the writing or its impression brought back from the printing house, because he was informed that a workmate of the journal had been in Szeged and the political committee wanted to know what was written about the assembly of the university students. Boldizsár did not change my article but Ács clamoured for some deletions and inserts, so my writing was tamed (in a moderate approach), »general secret election« turned into »democratic election« and somewhere the emphasising of »marxist-leninist« principles was inserted. So the harsh political report turned into a »colourful account«' (Szegedi Műhely, 1999/1-4., p.108.).

Monday, 22 October

School went on without any disturbance, but the next memoir characterises the altered atmosphere really precisely: 'I can recall one thing sharply. Everything was torn down from the information board, there was only an article pinned up on it: Now we enlive history...' (Lóránt Czigány: *Where I Stand, Where I Go*, p. 380.).

Lóránt Czigány went to the editorial board of Szegedi Egyetem in the afternoon and – referring to the declaration of the previous assembly – forced them to accept an announcement in which they stated: 'The editorial board – after reconsidering its work – decided to continue its work along basically new principles ... it will consequently fight for dealing with the questions, askings and claims of students' (ibid p. 308.).

Meanwhile the negotiations started in the residence of AWY in Budapest. The AWY leaders of Szeged who knew András Lejtényi and Tamás Kiss testified the followings during the investigation in the spring of 1957: 'There was a negotiation in the central leading board of AWY on 22 October where Lejtényi and Kiss represented the AHUCS of Szeged. While I was at present they did not take the floor in the debate. Then they left the building and went to a university (of economics) and they only came back around noon. I do not know anything about their further activities because I travelled back to Szeged in the afternoon.'³⁸

'We formed a committee to outline the rules and regulations and another to formulate the political programme scheme of the student deputies of the countryside and Budapest to the proposal of the AWY CLB. András Lejtényi and Tamás Kiss were in the rules and regulations committee. The two committees had two separated rooms with one hall where there was a telephone. I can remember clearly that Lejtényi and Tamás Kiss made phone calls frequently, which shows their close contact with different universities.

In the morning of 23 October one of them informed me that they went to Gödöllő on Monday evening and took the floor on the general assembly of the University of Agriculture and according to them they received standing ovation.'³⁹

The service report made with the third AWY leader on 23 August 1957 contains the followings: 'Comrade Görög said that he and Árpád Árvai law student of the fifth grade travelled to Budapest to the AWY CLB where they had negotiations concerning the establishment of a new youth organisation. The AHUCS envoys of the different universities like András Lejtényi and Tamás Kiss also took part in it. They were divided into two groups. The first group outlined the rules and regulations and the second the programme scheme. Lejtényi and Kiss were sent into the first group with comrade Görög. Kiss and Lejtényi went into the city shortly after the beginning of the work to visit different universities. György Ziaja, student of the University of Technology, who lived in Budapest can also prove that Tamás Kiss and

András Lejtényi took part in the assembly held on the University of Technology.

On that day and then the following day they left the AWY CLB several times in the company of the AHUCS envoys of Budapest. They often made phone calls to different universities as well as throughout their stay at the AWY CLB.

It could also be figured out that the AHUCS envoys of Budapest were under the influence of Lejtényi and Tamás Kiss, it seemed they led them. This assumption can be proved by the circumstance that they went out to visit the universities and they kept in close phone contact.⁴⁰

As it was mentioned earlier, the two AHUCS envoys of Szeged took part in the general assembly of the University of Technology (Budapest) and Agriculture (Gödöllő). They told the aims and the previously accepted political claims of AHUCS in both events and asked the students to join them.

Then the students of the University of Technology accepted the famous announcement containing the political claims, the first sentence of which is: 'We share the proposal of the students of Szeged and we formed the local AHUCS of the University of Technology, Building Industry and Traffic.'

The students of other universities also asked the envoys of Szeged to join their assemblies.

A quotation from the minutes of the University of Economics made on 22 October 1956, from the speech of Róbert Bohó: 'In the name of Petőfi Circle I would like to welcome the student assembly of the University of Economics. Another message: I have been just asked on telephone by the AHUCS envoys of Szeged staying in Pest to give their greetings and good wishes. They have so much work to do that they cannot come here (applause).'

In order to fulfill the invitations 'Tamás Kiss phoned me from Budapest on 22 October to ask me to travel to Budapest with someone and find him at the address 8 Lenin Bld., where two student friends of Kiss lived. I went to Budapest alone by train on that day because there

was nobody to join me. I could not find him at the given address. The flat owner said that he had not even been there. There was another youth there who was waiting for Kiss, Pál Szabó from Szeged, from the Faculty of Natural Sciences. Later, as I was informed, Tamás Kiss stayed at the meeting held on the University of Technology. I remained in the flat with Szabó to spend the night there. Throughout the same night, around midnight the two students arrived at the flat who had also visited that assembly. They informed us that Tamás Kiss got a place in a youth hostel and the students of the University of Technology would be preparing for a huge demonstration on 23 October' (A detail from the testimony of Imre Tóth).⁴¹

It can be clearly stated from the declarations, events and contemporary documents that the following statements are true considering the events on the universities of Szeged between 13 and 23 October 1956.

1. The issue of an independent university youth organisation was raised by some young students of their free will, without any outer stress. It was initiated neither by the power nor by a 'reactionist' organisation.
2. For three days (till 16 October) the aim of the organisation was formulated as a particular youth organisation defending their interests, though they dealt not only with educational and social but also with other claims such as the right of arranging free theoretical debates.
3. Three days after the initiation the political claims suggested by the students were also enlisted in the programme and when they formulated their appeal towards the other universities on 17 October, in which they urged them to join AHUCS, it had already been decided that AHUCS would also represent political claims.
4. AHUCS as an organisation – in contrast with the political system – was based on the principle of classical, direct democracy securing the members' freedom of thought, opinion and decision. They could not even imagine one-person leadership and leadership 'kept away from masses'.

5. The political claims suggested on 16 October and accepted on 20 October consisted of those ones which were formulated two days after (22 October) on other universities of the country.
6. The 'points' departing from Szeged consisted of claims like the independence of the nation, restoration of national symbols, introduction of free, democratic election system, bringing the guilty ones of the last era into justice and reentering Imre Nagy into leadership.
7. The deputies of Szeged visited almost every university meeting on 22 October, they introduced the programme and the principles of the rules and regulations of AHUCS and proposed to join them.

Considering these aspects, the following detail from the indictment written on 22 November 1957 and the justification of the judgement of the Highest Court sentencing a legally binding imprisonment in 1958 against the leaders of AHUCS cannot be said to be an overstatement or a distortion: 'The university students of Szeged instituted the so called organisation AHUCS. The bodies of AHUCS appeared as the ghostly facsimile of the so called 'thought of Szeged' in the arena of political life. They hitched the university and college students into the cart of counterrevolution successfully with their chauvinist, nationalist and pseudosocialist slogans. [...] The accused persons basically initiated and started a movement when they raised the issue of establishing AHUCS [...] the aims, the political claims and the programme of AHUCS soon turned against the basic establishment of the state. The movement started by the accused persons was an intellectual forerunner of the nationwide counter-revolutionary acts and emerged into counterrevolution. The accused persons acted intentionally because their consciousness considering their political skills definitely apprehended that their political claims could lead to the dethronement of worker dictatorship.'

Tuesday, 23 October

Lectures were still kept at the colleges and the universities of Szeged and another AHUCS meeting was planned at the college.

The AHUCS envoys of Szeged took part in the demonstration in Budapest, András Lejtényi and Tamás Kiss got on the lorry of the Petőfi Circle equipped with speakers because they met the leaders of Petőfi Circle they had got acquainted with a few days earlier. They marched from Bem Square to the Parliament, then to the Radio. In the meantime Kiss went to look for Imre Tóth, who had arrived in Budapest earlier on that day. Then they walked together to the building of the Radio.

Meanwhile, the students of Szeged started to fix up a demonstration instead of a meeting because they got information about the events going on in Budapest – the issue of a demonstration had already been raised during the assembly of 20 October but then the leaders of the university had dissuaded the students successfully. They started to set it up in the Gyula Juhász Youth Hostel around the early evening hours.

Zoltán Volosinovszky law student took the lead of the demonstrators around half past seven, and then they started to march towards the centre of the city through Dóm Square. Throughout the march the students coming from various youth hostels or walking on the street also joined them and in Dugonics Square there was a national flag at the lead of the march. The first slogans hurrahd the Polish then came the 'If you are Hungarian, join us!' sentence. The number of demonstrators grew gradually; the inhabitants also joined the students.

In the meantime the leaders and the teachers of the university took part in a concentrated party assembly in Auditorium Maximum. A witness of the party assembly made the following testimony during the trial of József Perbír dr.: 'During the evening, around 5 o'clock there was a concentrated party assembly led by Gábor Fodor at the university on 23 October, we had to go there. The meeting was about the alteration of the personal compound of the university's political

committee. Mainly comrade Béla Karácsonyi and comrade Lajos Székely were attacked. But during the debate someone suddenly broke into the great hall and announced that AHUCS was about to start a demonstration and they gathered in Dóm Square. Then the participants unanimously decided to join the students and try to soothe them there.⁴²

More and more people joined the demonstrating students in the centre of the city and when they reached the theatre, Tibor Bitskey, an actor, welcomed them by telling the poem titled *Nemzeti dal*. Then the demonstrators turned into Lajos Kossuth Avenue. Dezső Baróti Chancellor joined them at Anna-well. 'He went up to the front of the marchers and walked with them on Lajos Kossuth avenue then they turned into Nagykörút and they marched together to Marx Square.'⁴³

When they reached the building of the State Protecting Authority, 'Down with the SPA!' could also be heard and the demonstrators marched towards the factories. Under the influence of the 'Worker-student alliance!' watchword the workers also joined the march at the end of the shift and they went back to the theatre of which balcony had already been decorated by a Kossuth coat of arms. Then they walked to the Kossuth-statue where they read up the previously accepted political claims of AHUCS and some worker speakers added their claims then the demonstrators went home peacefully after singing Szózat. Around 23 o'clock the county party committee was congregated where 'Baróti and Fodor talked about the demonstration as a glorious, nationwide movement'.⁴⁴

The next edition of Délmagyarország reported the followings about the demonstration: 'More than two thousand students started to march from Dóm Square in the early evening hours, singing revolutionary songs, saying revolutionary slogans. The tune of Marseilles turned into the invigoration of the Polish ... then, after singing the national anthem, a young member of AHUCS unfolded the aims of the demonstration and the events that happened in Budapest ... A university student made a speech from the balcony of the theatre towards the demonstrators urging a worker-peasant-student alliance

... The demonstrators – feeling free – marched away in a disciplined manner.'

Throughout the day there were no violent acts in the city since the local and state party leaders ruled only a smaller amount of police and army units.

Between 24 October and 6 November

During the revolution and the war of independence the nationwide initiating and leading role of the students of Szeged and AHUCS vanished and their activity was restricted to Szeged.

But the university, the university leaders and professors – through their authoritative positions – had still a great impact on the events going on in the city.

On 24 October the students – being conscious of the events of Budapest – did not visit the lectures. The university leaders also decided to cancel lectures and direct the students coming from the countryside (80-90% of the enscripted students) home; however, they did not really manage. Due to the difficulties of public transport and their will to take part in the events most of the students did not travel home.

A part of the university and college youths tried to get in touch with the workers in the factories, others watched the Russian tank troops going towards Budapest on the main routes and on the bridge over Tisza, in turn the majority gathered for a new demonstration – they planned a silent one – in front of the main building of the university in the early afternoon.

The police was certainly informed about the demonstration and they (together with the local party committee) warned the university leaders that the martial law had been announced and what is more, some police officers called the gathering youngsters upon to scatter. However, these instructions had no effect.

In the afternoon small groups of students came from the Irinyi Youth Hostel then more and more people started to demonstrate. At

the beginning their aim was to announce solidarity with the revolution of Budapest and pressing university and college students for seceding from the martial law.

Some university lecturers tried to stand in the way of the students, but their efforts remained unsuccessful and, what is more, the citizens of the city joined the students soon. They formulated new slogans and demanded the removal of the red stars from public buildings.

The demonstrators went to Kenderfonó factory around 7 p.m. to summon the workers to join them.

During the afternoon of the previous day there was a youth parliament in the cultural hall of this factory and older workers also visited the meeting. The representatives of the young workers agreed with the political claims accepted by the AHUCS assembly of 20 October, and completed them with the claim of raising the living standards. The envoys of AHUCS also took the floor on this worker assembly and said that: 'Let us not realise the applauded, but the real beauty' (Délmagyarország, 24th of October 1956, p. 5.).

Here the 'Hungarian worker, join us!' and the 'Russians go home!' slogans could be heard. A group of the demonstrators wanted to get into the factory as a delegation, but the leaders informed the armed forces, who were strengthened by new army troops arriving from the neighbouring basis of Szeged. The armed forces started to disperse the mass with violent acts, first they used water cannons, tear gas, then alarming shots and when these proved to be inefficient, they used beating. The demonstrators fled into the nearby youth hostels. József Perbiró dr. said the followings about it on his trial on 9 December 1957: 'I heard shooting so I ran into the stairway and 10-12 matted, bloody students, boys and girls ran in through the gate chased by 5 SPA gunmen. They stood them to the wall, cursed them and shot into the wall to threaten them.'

A group consisting of medical students fled into the Youth Hostel on Vörösmarty Street and they had a clash with the armed personnel.

This demonstration was only reported on 4 November in Szegedi Néplap: 'The armed forces dispersed the demonstrators in front of the

Kenderfonó factory. The students and the workers went towards Gyula Juhász Youth Hostel in a hurry. The steward wanted to lock the gate when 3 SPA gunmen came running, invaded the hall and shot into the floor. They went to the windows of the ground floor, stack the barrels of their guns out of the windows and stood dr. Perbíró to the wall. 'Why could not you teach these bastards?' They shot over the beholders. [...] The students living in Jancsó Youth Hostel arrived at home around half past seven. The SPA arrived at 8 o'clock. They shot into the wooden stairs shouting 'Dogs, counterrevolutionarists!'

The demonstration of 24 October was basically an act of university and college students, the organisers of AHUCS started these demonstrations, but more and more people, citizens, workers, intellectuals and high school students joined them.

Despite the fact that martial administration was installed in cooperation with the local party and city council leaders, so the armed units occupied the public buildings, the main squares and routes, the workers and the citizens fixed up a new demonstration on 25 October. They wreathed the statue of Kossuth, marched to Széchenyi square and removed red stars from several public buildings, then they walked to the building of the party committee. In order to calm down the crowd the party committee announced that they would set up a mass meeting on Széchenyi square the following day.

In the meantime Chancellor Dezső Baróti and Professor Gábor Fodor obviated in the party committee because of the violent acts of the armed units in various youth hostels. The council of the University and the University of Medicine kept a common session and stressed the importance of cooperation of the two universities.

On that day a lot of students living not too far travelled home.

In spite of announcing the mass assembly to Széchenyi square the armed forces closed down the square on 26 October and the leader of the martial administration informed the Chancellor and asked him to direct the youngsters to the sport field of Ady Square instead of Széchenyi square. The commander also said to Baróti if the demonstrators would not obey, then he would order fire. József

Perbíró asked first the party committee then the SPA leading board to call back the order of fire, but he was rejected.

The university leaders, professors and the students gathering around them stepped in front of the demonstrating crowd and tried to divert them from Széchenyi square. Their efforts had no effect, the crowd started to march towards Széchenyi square. The fusillade went off killing a worker youth and wounding several persons.

The mass scattered by the fusillade gathered later in the sport field of Ady Square and the victim of the fusillade, who was covered with a black flag, was also carried there in a national flag dipped into blood. Later they went into the Auditorium Maximum avoiding the approaching armed forces, then dispersed because of hearing about further units.

At the beginning of the demonstration a Revolution Committee was formed at the College of Pedagogical Studies. The Revolution Committee analysed the events during its sessions, they pressed for the removal of the sycophants of Stalin and Rákosi and the reappointment of the previously removed lecturers because of political causes.

The election of local factory and institution worker councils and the appointment of envoys – who later elected the City Revolution Committee in the city hall – started on 27 October in Szeged. Nearly 200 envoys took part in the session in the city hall, they presented their claims, local and nationwide ones as well. They elected the presidency, the university was represented by József Perbíró vice dean and AHUCS by Vilmos Ács college student beside the representatives of different factories and institutions. The presidency conferred with the leaders of the martial administration about the takeover and as a result of it the Revolutionary National Committee was finally formed in Szeged on 29 October. The president was József Perbíró and Vilmos Ács became the member of the presidency as a supervisor of the educational department of the city council.

The Revolutionary National Committee formulated a list of claims consisting of 13 points which they tried to deliver to the government by a delegation. The delegation departed on the day when Vilmos Ács

was also appointed. They could only give their claims to Imre Nagy prime secretary on 30 October.

Délmagyarország reported about the memorandum given to the cabinet council in its 30 October edition. The claims included the withdrawal of the Russian troops, the renunciation of the Warsaw Treaty, the neutrality of our country, the abolishing of mandatory delivery of agricultural surplus and the liberation of the prisoners of war.

The Revolutionary Council of the University of Szeged was formed on 30 October. The members of the council were: Előd Halász dr., József Perbír dr., Béla Szőkefalvi Nagy dr. The University of Medicine also established its Council under the leadership of Károly Waltner dr. The Revolutionary Council announced on its first session that they agreed with all points sent to the government (Szeged Népe, 1 November 1956).

The university revolutionary councils made decisions concerning occupational questions, the sycophants of the Rákosi-Gerő system were removed, such as lecturers, staff leaders and the Marxist departments were abolished.

There was a mass meeting in the Auditorium Maximum on 31 October kept by the students who remained in Szeged and the AHUCS envoys arriving back from Budapest – Imre Tóth and Tamás Kiss – reported about their stay, they ‘talked about what they had seen in Budapest, about the massacre in Lajos Kossuth square and the mentioned that they had visited the general assembly of the University of Technology’.⁴⁵

Here András Maróti, a teacher was asked to become the leader of the university National Guard, since the city revolutionary council previously decided to form a worker and a university battalion within the National Guard. Maróti undertook the task only temporarily, from 1 November the commander of the university battalion was Barna Lazúr as first lieutenant who was a lecturer of the Department of Warfare. He removed the command base from Dózsa Barracks to Gyula Juhász Youth Hostel.

The university battalion of the National Guard got the tasks of guarding and maintaining order, such as the supervision of the SPA barrack of Öthalom near Szeged.

Szeged Népe (edition of 2 November) reported that two students who were the deputies of the Budapest Revolutionary Council had arrived from Budapest on the previous day- Páter Lantos and Tibor Balázs third grade art students. They talked about the events of the capital and they tried to get in touch with the university students of Szeged.

The next edition of Szeged Népe (3 November) was also about a university mass meeting kept in Auditorium Maximum where the deputies of the Budapest University Revolutionary Committee, Ákos S. Tóth and János Csupsák law students told the events of Budapest. On 3 November the university of Szeged made an appeal towards all universities of the world (document 12) in which the leaders of the university asked them 'to stand by us using their moral respect in order to secure peace and the independence of our country – which are inevitable to scientific research'. The appeal was read up in the radio called Széchenyi by Gábor Fodor in English, French and German.

The next edition of Szeged Népe (4 November) published the appeal of the Szeged Revolutionary National Committee on page 3 in which they asked those students staying in Szeged or in the countryside who had not joined the national guard yet to become a member of the university battalion. 'To take part in the National Guard is a patriotic duty of every student.'

Szeged Népe also published the appeal of the University of Medicine in which they informed the students that the lectures should be restarted on 5 November, Monday morning.

Throughout the night the Soviet tank troops went through the city, occupied it and arrested the leaders of the Revolutionary National Committee.

Education could not begin ...

From 6 November

After the suppression of the revolution and the war of independence, the small number of students staying in Szeged made their following meeting on 6 November. Under the leadership of Imre Nagy, a sophomore pharmacist student – who was older than his mates, he was born in 1919 – AHUCS was reestablished and they got in touch with the worker councils. Throughout November and December Imre Nagy and Imre Tóth took part in the sessions of worker council. Their most important role was to create anti-Kádár flysheets calling for strikes. They multiplied them, made several hundred copies on a home printing machine made by Imre Tóth and spreaded them in the city. First the fly-sheets were made in the AHUCS office, which was given from the university then in a flat. Among others Ágnes Blazsó medical student, Pál Vezényi arts student, Miklós Vető and Tamás Kiss law students and János Aszalós natural science student helped to make them.

One of the fly-sheets titled ‘Open Letter to János Kádár’ states: ‘You and your government announce that you are strengthened by the confidence of Hungarian workers – however the workers express it through strikes’ and they ask the question: ‘Why and where are Hungarian youths being deported and dragged away?’

They used the weapon of mockery in another flysheet titled ‘Political Ads’: ‘We are looking for a reliable Prime Secretary suitable for any kind of service. Conditions: have a clean record, character is not necessary’ or ‘I lost the trust of the nation, striker gets precious reward. Can get some hit tanks. János Kádár Prime Secretary. Address: Soviet tank No. 2745. Oil container’.

The flysheet made on 19 November called for a general obviating strike against nationwide arrests, deportations and dragaways.

In January 1957, Imre Tóth and Imre Nagy appeared once on the session of the officially organised AHUCS in Budapest, but later, because of the experience, they quit doing any kind of activity concerning AHUCS.

György Halász and István Sersli medical students chose another way of making flysheets. They wrote flysheets with ink and glued them on street walls (document 13, 14, 15), but they were caught in the act and arrested throughout the night of 8 December.

On 14 December Éva Pusztay natural sciences student was also arrested because of spreading flysheets and she was sentenced to one year and six months imprisonment on 4 May 1957. On 13 February 1957, Tamás Grynaeus, László Ábrahám and István Kovács medical students were arrested for spreading flysheets and hiding weapons (they threw their National Guard machine guns into the River Tisza) due to an agent report. After a short trial they were sentenced to imprisonment.

On 16 January 1957, education restarted at the universities and at the college. A police report depicts the atmosphere of the opening day as follows: 'Faculty of Law: calm, rather melancholic atmosphere. No alignments or blats. Faculty of Arts: It was said that the leaders of AHUCS had gone abroad. Faculty of Natural Sciences: calm atmosphere.'

Some weeks later the Csongrád county police started to arrest the leaders of AHUCS:

Imre Tóth – 31 January; Dezső Gönczöl – 11 May; Iván Abrudbányai – 10 June; Klára Kurcsa – 10 May; Tamás Kiss (he hid from the authorities from the end of January) – 29 May.

The police found it out that András Lejtényi, Vilmos Ács, Attila Kádár, István Csete, Károly Hámori, Pál Vezényi, Tivadar Putnik, János Ambrus, Adorján Tóth and Miklós Vető 'who are involved in the case of Tamás Kiss and mates No. 31-5626/57' had fled from the country and still not returned.

The central leading board of the Hungarian Socialist Workers' Party made a declaration on 2 July 1957 about 'Some Aspects of The Fight Against Inner Reaction' (Fusillades 1956 III. p. 93.). According to it 'the leaders and organisers of youth or other counter-revolutionary bodies who ... had excited others for counter-revolutionary acts or took part in them as organisers or instructors must be brought into justice.'

In harmony with the party declaration, the Szeged County Court (the open then closed trial lasted from 6 January 1958 to 10 February 1958) accepted the proposal of the prosecutor – who asked for the most severe judgement –, and found Tamás Kiss, Imre Tóth and Dezső Gönczöl guilty in initiating and leading a movement in order to overthrow national democratic state order. They were sentenced to eight, ten and eight years of imprisonment. The other accused persons, János Aszalós, János Tunyogi Csapó, László Soós, Iván Abrudbányai, György Csallner, István Barabás and Klára Kurcsa were found guilty in active participation in the movement and the revolution and were jailed for several years.

On 10 February 1957 József Perbíró vice-dean, the president of the Szeged Revolutionary Committee was arrested and finally he was sentenced to a life-long imprisonment.

On 26 April 1957 Dezső Baróti Chancellor was also arrested and sentenced to two years and six months of imprisonment on 1 October.

During the spring of 1957 the Political Investigation Department of Csongrád County Police (in cooperation with leaders of the local HSWP) presented the proposal concerning the disciplinary removals and other punishments of university teachers and workers. Disciplinary investigations started on the different faculties.

124 disciplinary investigations were run off against teachers and students with the result of different kinds of punishments. Besides József Perbíró and Dezső Baróti, sixteen lecturers were removed – nine of them went abroad according to the justifications of the disciplinary removals. Apart from these cases, twenty-five different people were taken to lower scope of activities or received written reprehension. Let us see some justifications: 'Active participation in the removal of communist lecturers'; 'Disparaging sentences about the worker-peasant government'; 'He ranked Pravda a tabloid'; 'Stated revisionist point of view'.

Those students who were considered dissidents were expelled from all universities of the country. Another 14 students expelled because of their counter-revolutionary activities ('organising AHUCS', 'spreading

flysheets'), 36 students received (severe) reprehension because of 'joining the national guard', 'organising AHUCS' or 'demonstrations'.

Seventeen teachers left the country from the University of Medicine, they were summarily dismissed, seven other persons received reprehension because of taking part in the revolutionary events, but they were banned from teaching. Eight dissident students were also expelled, as were eleven persons because of 'counter-revolutionary' activity, nine students received reprehension or expulsion for two years.

Fifteen persons left the country from the College of Pedagogical Studies. They were expelled, as were other four persons for organising AHUCs and spreading flysheets and two persons received reprehension.

Szeged is silent, silent again...

On 20 October 1990, thirty-four years later, the participants held a meeting in the Auditorium Maximum, where Tamás Horváth writer, József Perbíró, Barna Lazúr, Tamás Kiss and Imre Tóth recalled the events.

Notes

- [1] The documents of Szeged County Court. The trial of Tamás Kiss and associates. CSML B. 1249/1957
- [2] *ibid.* p. 198.
- [3] *ibid.* p. 99.
- [4] *ibid.* p. 113.
- [5] *ibid.* p. 103.
- [6] *ibid.* p. 114.
- [7] *ibid.* p. 169.
- [8] *ibid.* p. 111.
- [9] B. 942/1957. The trial of Dezső Baróti, p. 50.
- [10] B. 1249/1957. p. 114.
- [11] *ibid.* p. 251.

- [12] ibid p. 133.
- [13] ibid p. 115
- [14] ibid p. 115., 116.
- [15] ibid p. 116.
- [16] ibid p. 119.
- [17] ibid p. 199., 200.
- [18] N. B. 1103/1957. The trial of József Perbíró and associates, p. 134.
- [19] B. 1249/1957., p. 443.
- [20] ibid p. 106.
- [21] ibid p. 111.
- [22] B. 942/1957., p. 50., 168.
- [23] B. 1249/1957.
- [24] ibid p. 18.
- [25] ibid p. 360.
- [26] ibid p.111.
- [27] ibid p.106.
- [28] ibid p.135.
- [29] ibid p.110.
- [30] ibid p.137.
- [31] ibid p. 462.
- [32] ibid p. 464.
- [33] B. 942/1957., p. 59.
- [34] B. 1249/1957., p. 71.
- [35] ibid p. 465.
- [36] ibid p. 123.
- [37] ibid p. 117.
- [38] ibid p. 125.
- [39] ibid p. 134.
- [40] ibid p. 199.
- [41] N.B. 1103/1957., p. 135.
- [42] B. 942/1957., judgement.
- [43] ibid p. 122.
- [44] 1249/1957., p. 107.

The Tapescript of the Mass Meeting of AHUCS – 20th of October 1956

József Perbíró: My friends, we received lots of telegrams! Before we would discuss the rules and regulations, Tamás Kiss reads up them.

Kiss: The first telegram is a celebrating one. 'AHUCS mass meeting, Szeged! Receive our soulful welcome and accord, we stand by you in your fight – Budapest, youth of the University of Agriculture' (huge applause). The second one: the students of the Faculty of Agricultural Technological Engineering salute the students of Szeged. 'We agree that AWY did not fulfil the claims of the students concerning youth organisations. The youth of the universities must create an organisation which is capable of fulfilling the political and cultural and other claims of the students. During the fight for the consequent validation of the spirit of the 20th Congress, the martial alliance of the worker-peasant and intellectual youth is inevitably necessary. Therefore the task of the students is not the secession from AWY, but to create a new organisation within AWY (growl, whispering) and to help the work of AWY and other worker-peasant organisations represent a new kind of spirit, to find their place in the fight for improvement. In our opinion any trepidation and imprudence is good only for those who go for counterrevolution and the restoration of Stalin-Rákosi system.' (noise)

Those university students who think that an up-to-date, intellectual policy should be followed, which is free from other intellectuals and independent from the interests of the working class and peasants... (interruption: 'Get it through quickly!', laughter)

The students of our college will tell their opinion in the National Student Parliament held next week, which is admitted to be the highest negotiating body of the country's university students. – The AWY Committee of the Faculty of Agricultural Technological Engineering (noise).

Perbíró: Remarks follow. The first speaker is József Papp Szekeres from the third grade of the Faculty of Agricultural Technological Engineering, Budapest. Then Áron Mónus, third grade student of mathematics and physics.

András Lejtényi: We haven't heard the justification.

Perbíró: My friends, the justification of the rules and regulations is yet to come as a task of Lejtényi law student and the speakers should only contribute to the rules and regulations to keep order. If there are any remarks considering other points of the programme, then these should be put off!

András Lejtényi: So the next is the justification, discussion and voting point by point. Chapter I. The character, task and aim of the alliance 1. section a) AHUCS is an organisation of the masses of university and college students which includes the whole number of youths participating in education.

Justification: we need a new organisation that only defends our particular interests. No other organisation is capable of it. In AWY not only the problems of university youth are at stake. For example, if a case of a young worker is more important then it would be discussed first, not our case. We cannot wait on every occasion, if we feel that our case is urgent. Anyway, we lost confidence in AWY so the significance of the new organisation is clear. (Applause)

Perbíró: Let us vote. I ask the question, does the mass meeting accept the presented text? Please vote by raising hand. Countervotes please! There are not any. Now the speakers can tell their possible counteropinions. József Szekeres Papp. Áron Mónus. Kálmán Szendrei. (Interruption: 'He is not here!') Are there any contributions? Please, raise your hands.

Sersli: István Sersli, medical student, fourth grade. Dear friends! Dear fellow students! Today the students of Szeged realise things of great significance. Huge waves of energy blow up from our rows. Such forces that have been suppressed for decades by soulless decisions

cottoning up to the East. The wholehearted voice that could have testified the ever optimistic, beautiful, ready-to-act ideas of youth was drowned. Our hands were handcuffed, our mouths were shut, we heard other slogans and hatred rose in our rows. The slogans of the army of betrayers invigorating dark voices forced us to clap our thick hands rythmically and to say out slogans invigorating incoherent and dark voices (hurrahing, applause) ... youth is mighty, it sweeps away the last splatters of this era full of shame. Our spirits, our readiness to act is liberating like a gigantic force and it is coming from so deep ... this pushed us and keeps us still alive. It sweeps away everything and everybody who tries to hold it back. Our work could not remain without results. The clever, thoughtful, sober and rightful claims of the youth have partly been fulfilled already and it should make us feel rightfully proudder, because it is the success of all of us. Nevertheless, this success mustn't stop us; however, it must unify our forces in order to reach further successes. Not everything is in order yet. We definitely have to damn AWY and its leaders, because they still have not woken up ... Where is AWY now? What are the leaders of AWY doing now? I tell you. Most of them are hiding from the storm, because they feel they could get wet, because the youth has lost confidence in them. The necessity of an organisation rises. An organisation that unites our forces, which is a rightful will of all of us. We would stand AHUCS there. But we are grademates too in every grade, not only youth in general. Every grade has already ...

Perbíró: Please, stop! Please speak about the rules and regulations! General phrases should not be told now! (great noise) If the time of general remarks comes, we will listen to them.

Sersli: I would like to talk about a concrete problem.

Perbíró: Concerning the rules and regulations. We want to keep order.

Sersli: Concerning the rules and regulations and AHUCS in general. ('Let us hear it!') The grades elected the most trustworthy people to be representatives for every grade. The AWY grade committees set up.

But AHUCS is not speaking about those cases which occur when these people are called back and we go into AHUCS. These people stand by AWY, they see the opportunities which lay in AWY. We do not have to blast AWY, but the leaders of AWY who weren't and aren't able to take the lead of us and to represent those rightful interests which have arose. I would like to hear about the AWY committees, which are the cream of the grades ... (great noise). This is not only the problem of the medical fourth grade, but also the problem of the college, arts, natural science and law students. ('It is not true!') I speak in the name of the fourth grade medical students. ('It is not true, stop it!') The people who are capable of leading, those can not elect the leading board of AHUCS ... a leading board that represents our interests and we really need that kind. So my opinion is that some students need AWY too and it would cause a great conflict, the unmatched situation, when one part would join AWY and the other would join AHUCS (noise). Those people who were elected to be members of the AWY committees and we feel that it was rightful, we have put our trust in them, so I think the AWY can also meet those requirements in the basic structure (whispers) ... ('Stop it!')

Perbíró: Quiet, please! I take back the right to speak, because it is not about the rules and regulations. (applause, hurrah) Is there anybody else to contribute to the rules and regulations? Name, please!

Bari: Tamás Bari. My remark is not about the rules and regulations, I would like to suggest that everybody should join the discussion in his/her own name and as we stressed it yesterday during the meeting of intellectuals, not in the name of grademates, because it could cause some misunderstanding. ('Right!', applause)

Perbíró: Are there any additional remarks to the 1st point? Then let us hear the 2nd.

Lejtényi: Section b). Assistant lecturers also join us. Justification: Certain assistant lecturers have already testified our organisation appeals to them. Most of them have a serious organisational past, their experience and advice can really help us.

Perbíró: Please vote! Do you accept the 2nd point? Or any remarks first? Because if everybody would accept it first, then we could accelerate the course of the meeting and if there should be anybody who rejects the proposal by raising hand, then we give the right of speaking to the person (noise).

Boy: It is clear that everybody has to contribute to every point of the rules and regulations. Everyone has to confess their opinion.

Perbíró: Are there any remarks to the 2nd point? Who wants to speak? No one? Do you accept it? ('Yes!') Countervotes, please! It is accepted.

Lejtényi: 2nd point section a). AHUCS is an independent, free organisation. It follows the directions of the pure Marxist-Leninist party in its initiatives. It only moves, decides and declares on the basis of the decisive majority of the members. Justification: The main driving force of our national democratic state is the party. The party follows the right direction. The principles of the 20th Congress cleared away the anti-Marxist, inhuman remains of Stalinism in a stormy way. The procession is right and deserves respect. AHUCS must follow this way, the way of the party. The basic principle of AHUCS is democracy, spreading to the widest range of affairs. As a consequence, and in order to avoid one person leadership decisions can only be made by the majority of the members. So as to avoid the devastating system of instructions coming from above decisions can only be made by the members. Please rise to speak! (applause)

Perbíró: Róbert Hegyi medical student wants to speak.

Róbert Hegyi: Concerning this point, I would like it if we would outline concretely the notion of a purely Marxist party. Let us define it in the spirit of the 20th Congress, because the party was also said to be purely Marxist under Rákosi in 1950 (applause)

Perbíró: Any other remarks? Name, please!

Szendrei: Kálmán Szendrei, pharmacist, third grade. Dear mates! First of all, I would like to stress that I am absolutely promoting the set

up of AHUCS. But this view makes me speak. I heard it yesterday and today that it is lost. I heard it yesterday at the meeting of the Faculty of Natural Sciences that the case of AHUCS was lost. (noise) Certainly, I was not at present so I cannot have a clear opinion about that.

Someone: You cannot have of course, because there was not any meeting yesterday!

Szendrei: But it is without any doubts that recently the case is getting really coiled. AWY leaders came to negotiate, the Petőfi Circle, they advised us to join Attila József Circle. The rules and regulations declare that AHUCS is an independent body of university students. It is quite important, since we have to be extremely aware of such voices like joining Attila József Circle or AWY.

(Interruption: 'Other concern!')

Szendrei: But it is really important not to lose the right political direction. If we form an independent organisation, as the worker and peasant youths did ... Essence gets lost.

Perbíró: Order, please! As I see, you also got lost, because your speech was not about the rules and regulations. Please, concentrate on the matter, on the points! If someone has nothing to add to the points, please, remain silent!

Szendrei: The 2nd point is about the independence of AHUCS. That is what I am talking about. (noise) Because it has not been cleared yet. That it was accepted. Many say, 'Be aware!' etc. This voice can not be allowed.

Perbíró: I am forced to take back the right of speaking, you are against the order of the meeting. (applause)

Lejtényi: So the modified version is: AHUCS is an independent, free organisation. Its initiatives follow the direction of the pure marxist-leninist party in the spirit of the 20th Congress. Moves, declarations and decisions can only be made by the majority of the members. Right? (applause)

Perbíró: Do you accept it? Countervotes, please! I declare that it was accepted.

Lejtényi: 2nd point section b). The representatives of a minority opinion can ask for a public debate. Justification: The proof of democracy is to listen to the opinion of the minority. It is possible that their point of view [...] concerning the defense of student interests in the field of educational, social, cultural and political matters. We know our interests best, it is our task to represent them and to defend them, if it is necessary. Justification: an organisation standing outside of us, with leaders who are not only our the representatives, can not represent our interests as strongly as we can. We are not kids who cannot separate right from wrong. Our experience is that we can only reach what we fight for. Remarks please! (applause)

Perbíró: Any contributors? Name?

Soós: József Sándor Soós. Faculty of Natural Sciences.

Perbíró: Which grade?

Soós: Worker. What was read up by the comrade, I can absolutely accept. But we see that it was really good and necessary for the Hungarian youth to recover. Because AWY dragged the whole youth down. It is important to defend AHUCS whatever are the circumstances! (stormy applause)

Perbíró: Let's vote. Do you accept this point? Countervotes, please. It is accepted.

Lejtényi: 4th point. Our task is to fight for a merrier future of university and college students and to help the healthy plans of the government and the party concerning university matters. I think there is no need of justification, it goes without saying.

Perbíró: Any remarks? Then vote. Do you accept this point? Countervotes, please. I declare the general assembly accepted this point.

Lejtényi: 5th point. The aim of the alliance is that the youth leaving the universities and colleges, who are dedicated to represent the mind of the nation, should not be an indifferent, passive crowd, a layer of coward, supple and mean ones, but an army fighting bravely and soulfully for the nation, the country and for a merrier future. These people should not fear of talking about the truth, but they should serve the nation and the country with their skills, knowledge and ability (huge applause). Justification: the system of Stalin and Rákosi brought up intellectual cripples and sycophants. They used merciless and inhuman tools against who dared to raise their voices in the name of rationality and humanity against their brutality and failures. They tried to teach us rough selfishness, unprincipledness, repression and how to make a leg with some success. They wanted to tread down the desire of freedom coming from our souls, they wanted to turn us servants accepting their perfidies obediently. The spirit of the 20th Congress swept these intentions away. A free, fruitful atmosphere came into being, but the remains of the past still hamper us in unfolding. The aim of our youth organisation is to sweep these remains away from our consciousness to the perfection of our nation, country and ourselves (applause).

Perbíró: Any remarks? Yes? Name, please!

Mihalik: Ferenc Mihalik, sophomore medical student. In given cases AHUCS should also represent the interests of worker and peasant youngsters in their claims. (applause, 'Yes, hurrah!')

Perbíró: Do you accept this proposal? ('Yes!') Any other remarks? Name, please!

Bucsi: Ferenc Bucsi, third grade pharmacist. I wanted to speak later, but I think it is time to raise my issue. Probably we, all of us read the today edition of Szabad Ifjúság. It tries to propound our yesterday meeting as an initiative of secessionist policy. We stood together and would not care anymore... They say we want to stay away from the renewing theoretical fight which is running off in the whole country,

in mass organisations. I suggest that this article, this form of the article and the statements of the article should be rejected. We do want to represent the interests of every Hungarian worker. ('Hurrah!', rythmical, great applause)

Perbíró: I think it can be stated from this univocal applause that the proposal of the speaker was unanimously accepted. Any other remarks? Name, please!

Goda: Andor Goda, medical student, third grade. I would like to suggest that this point should be reformulated in this spirit. So this questions must be added and stressed! (noise)

Lejtényi: So the 5th point should be. The proposal... Is there another one?

Bakondi: Béla Bakondi, fourth grade medical student. I would like if the words 'wretched' and 'supple' would be deleted. Because we offend the layer of the old intellectuals who have always been fighting for us, but their voice was suppressed by party and government declarations. So they were not wretched and supple intellectuals, comrades, they really were good people, but they could not speak.

Lejtényi: Wretched is not even in the text...

Jancsó: Gábor Jancsó, didactics... The text did express that we brought up wretched and supple people. If we did not manage, it does mean the failure of education. (applause)

Perbíró: Any other remarks? Name please!

Abrudbányai: Iván Abrudbányai, law student. It would be best to stress it even more strongly that we do not want to get distant from workers and peasants. I suggest that AHUCS should appoint contact persons towards workers and peasants. This should be added.

Lejtényi: Right. But it is the matter of the structure of the organisation, isn't it? So, any other suggestions in relation to point 5? Because I would like to read the modified text. So, point 5 is: The aim of the alliance is that the youths leaving the universities and colleges

who are dedicated to represent the mind of the nation should not be an indifferent, passive crowd, a layer of coward, supple and mean ones, however an army fighting bravely and soulfully for the nation, the country and for a merrier future. These people should not be fear of talking about the truth, but they should serve the nation and the country with their skills, knowledge and ability. And here comes the amendment: AHUCS also should represent the interests of worker and peasant youth in certain cases. (In every case!) All right, AHUCS also should represent the interests of worker and peasant youth in every case. Is that OK?

Perbíró: Can this point be accepted including the modification? Any other remarks?

Boy: 'In certain cases' should be corrected: in certain political questions...

Lejtényi: In every case!

Perbíró: Any other contributions? I heard a voice that Géza Tokaji assistant lecturer would like to speak. He can not come in, he probably could not get into the hall. (Laughter.) Is he here? (No!) Then I ask the audience: do you accept the modification and this point according to the reformulation? (Yes, we do!) Countervotes, please! (Noise.)

Lejtényi: Second article. The members. The rights and duties of the members. 1st point. Every university and college student who admits the aims of AHUCS and considers the rules and regulations of AHUCS to be obligatory becomes the member of AHUCS by their free will. Justification: the democratic way of operation of AHUCS requires people who consider the constitution and the rules and regulations of the association to be obligatory. However, we cannot oblige anyone to join us who represent another point of view.

Perbíró: Who would like to speak? Yes, go on!

Soós: László Soós, law student, fourth grade. I would like to add that I disagree with the formulation: everybody accepts the rules and regulations. It is a far too unprecise kind of formulation, because I

think it should be made clear who is the member of AHUCS. It is a far too unprecise kind of formulation that every person who is at present here, at this assembly.

Lejtényi: No, it is not.

László Soós: In a given situation it would be definitely an exaggeration to say that he or she was not a member of AHUCS.

Lejtényi: Well, the whole text is: 'who admits the aims of AHUCS and considers the rules and regulations of AHUCS to be obligatory.'

Soós: But who joins? It is an unprecise kind of formulation that everyone who is a university or a college student.

Lejtényi: Look, let us consider practice. There is a document and who wants to join AHUCS, signs it. Who signs the joining document.

Perbíró: Any other remarks? Let us vote. Please, vote! Countervotes! I declare this point was accepted by the assembly.

Lejtényi: So the 2nd point. The members of AHUCS can be the members of any other kind of organisation. Justification: almost every member of AHUCS is also the member of AWY and so on. Taking into account that our aims are largely the same, an AHUCS membership does not exclude the possibility to be an active member of another organisation unless neglecting the interests of AHUCS.

Perbíró: Yes, your name?

Szalontai: György Szalontai, college student. I would like to add anyone can be the member of any kind of organisation, the aims and aspirations of which do not go against the purposes of AHUCS. (Applause.)

Perbíró: Any other remarks? Then the answer, please.

Lejtényi: Well, tell me an organisation which goes against AHUCS. Go ahead!

Szalontai: AHUCS has just been set up. How do you know, what kind of organisations are going to be established in the near future? ('Right!' Applause.)

Perbíró: Has anyone got another point of view considering this remark, proposal? If there is not any, the rules and regulations should be modified in that way.

Lejtényi: So the 2nd point of the article II is: the members of AHUCS can be the members of any other organisation, the aims and aspirations of which do not go against the purposes of AHUCS. Is that correct?

Perbíró: Can this version be accepted? Countervotes. I declare that this point was accepted by the assembly.

Lejtényi: 3rd point. The members of AHUCS have the right to take the floor and to vote on the assemblies. During the debates the members can represent their own point of view and can ask for voting about them. Justification: AHUCS is the organisation of university and college students. The right to debate must be secured and must be given to every student and every member of AHUCS by which the issue of direct democracy is maintained. The right of voting is also concerned the same way. It was really problematic that the members did not dare to express their opinions. So it can be considered to be correct that let us have a public forum where everybody can tell their point of view without any restriction, without facing reprisal or pushback.

Perbíró: Any contributions? Then let us vote. Any countervotes? I declare that the point was accepted by the assembly.

Lejtényi: 4th point. The members of AHUCS have the right to introduce any kind of wish or injury towards the assembly and to initiate a debate about it. I did not formulate any special justification for this point.

Perbíró: Any remarks? Then let us vote. Any countervotes? There are not any. I declare that the point was accepted by the assembly.

Lejtényi: So, the 5th point. The members of AHUCS have the right to rely on the solidarity of AHUCS in a serious and correct case.

Justification: one of the main duties of AHUCS is to protect the interests of students as much as possible. The alliance consists of the sum of the given members, so a member should rely on its solidarity in every case which concerns the interests and the authority of the alliance. Without it the members would not dare to confess proposals and claims which would be addressed to the leaders of the state or the party, for example the recent question concerning Russian language. AHUCS, of course, will not stand by anyone if the given person breaks the moral standard, the law or any kind of regulation.

Perbíró: Any contributions? Yes, sir, the Chancellor has the right to speak!

Dezső Baróti, chancellor: My remark concerns one detail. It is not about the essence, I agree with it. The given example here is that AHUCS would not dare to claim given questions, for example the facultative education of language. To reveal justice, I would like to say that the the teachers and the leaders of the university have been dealing with the question for years and the fact that the Ministry of Education has accepted it without any hesitation – undoubtedly, at the growing claim of youth – and this outcome is largely the consequence of the visit of the chancellors of some main Hungarian universities. This visit was made before the decision; as comrade Világhy from the University of Budapest; comrade Gillemot from the University of Technology of Budapest and me, so we visited the Ministry of Education and expressed our opinion that facultative language education would serve the absorbing of university education. Furthermore, we asked for certain reforms which had not been initiated by university youth. For example, the problem of general university reform was formulated much more firmly, the supervision of martial education in our appearance, in the appearance of most universities. Otherwise, I find the justification correct, though its contents must be formulated by the youth. It is also correct that the speaker should be protected by the solidarity of youth, but I stress I disagree with the given example and let me tell me in general: I have

really no much fear of having arguments about the true wishes of youth between the professors and leaders of the university and the students, because we deeply agree with them and we have been emphasising it for a long time that the present system of university education needs to be reformed and in the future we want to fight for further steps together with youth. (Frenetic applause.)

Perbíró: Any othe remarks? Go ahead, please!

[...] ... there will be no process or rehabilitation, because there cannot be, if he/she differs from the opinion of AHUCS only in theoretical questions. Because the given person cannot foresee whether AHUCS accepts his/her point of view or not and if we might formulate it this way, it can occur that the given person does not go along with it. We have to secure in every case that either we agree or disagree with it, the given person would suffer no harm regardless what the theoretical background is.

Perbíró: Who has a contrary opinion in connection with this proposal? Yes, please!

(?): ... György, freshman, Faculty of Law. Except one case, when the given person represents an anti-democratic point of view. ("Yes, yes!") Well, it is another concern that just because of it he/she cannot suffer any harm and cannot be brought under any humiliating process.

Boy: This proposal can only be accepted, as it was mentioned in the former parts, if the given person admits his/her position to be wrong, brings himself/herself under, admits the declarations of AHUCS to be obligatory, since they represent a sixty per cent majority. Otherwise we cannot secure asylum to such, theoretically founded claims, because someone can even raise the ridiculous issue of restoring the Hungarian state order. That is impossible. There is freedom of speech, but we cannot give way to wrong ideas and, what is more, to reactionist ideas within the framework of AHUCS, because we would endanger the future of AHUCS with them. (Applause.)

Zólyom: Antal Zólyom, law student. I think it is no use arguing about it, because the proposal of Károly Hámori includes that AHUCS should make a decision in any case whether to take up a position or not.

Tóth: Tibor Tóth, medicine student, third grade. We back up any kind of democratic issue regardless the opinion of the given person. Because if someone blunders accidentally, can not foresee the consequences of it and if we do not even accept it, we must defend that person in the name of democracy and we must even fight! And if someone blunders accidentally, can not be the subject of terror... (Applause, noise, 'move further on the steps!')

Boy: In my opinion the problem should be formulated with strict precision if the given person theoretically alters from the the point of view of AHUCS, but let him/her tell us, the assembly rejects it at most. If the given person accepts the declarations of the assembly then the assembly should definitely protect the person from the consequences of his/her thoughts. But if the person insists on his/her ideas restively then we can not protect the person.

Lejtényi: The 3rd point includes it!

Perbíró: I just would have liked to get it accepted. Any other remarks!

(The contributor cannot be heard.)

Vető: Miklós Vető, law student. I disagree with the former speaker, because there are given rules among the present laws and moral imperatives considering the last six years which have been changed since then. I think such kind of formulation, such a sharp, principled bound which gives way to any kind of debate and contribution except from going against the present laws and moral imperatives; I do not think it is correct. Of course, it cannot mean that anyone can squarely stand by antidemocratic, fascist or antinational claims.

(Interjection): Please use the hand microphone during speaking, at least around the table because the people outside are shouting they cannot hear anything...

Boy: Stand on the desks and everyone can get in! (Noise.)

Perbíró: Lejtényi law student has the right to take the floor.

Lejtényi: So I would have a proposal standing in the middle which, well, justifies all points of view. We would include in the rules and regulations that 'the member of AHUCS has the right to rely on the solidarity and assistance of the alliance in every lawful and reasonable case'. Though I think it includes that 'lawful and reasonable' but the causes – the cause of solidarity – should be declared by the student assembly. (Noise.)

Perbíró: Quiet, please! (Louder!)

Vető: Eventually we should formulate in the rules and regulations who has the right to revoke the AHUCS membership.

Lejtényi: That is the concern of the organisational part.

Perbíró: Any other remarks? There are not, let us vote. Countervotes, please. There are not any so I declare that the point was accepted.

Lejtényi: 6th point. It is the duty of every AHUCS member to represent, defend and fight for the interests of the university and college students on every forum and in any other organisations. Justification: AHUCS was founded to defend the interests of university and college students. Every AHUCS member has to strive for – on the basis of rationality – ... (Noise, interjection: 'Come on!', 'Stand on the desks!')

Perbíró: Quiet! Quiet please! Please move a little bit closer to each other in the desks. Quiet please, we continue the debate! ('The carrying capacity of the hall cannot bear more!', 'Move further!') Quiet please, continue...

Lejtényi: After this incident I go on. AHUCS was founded to defend the interests of university and college students. Every AHUCS member has to strive for – on the basis of rationality – defending these

interests which are our own. Do not forget that we are all for one and one for all. Let's argue!

Perbíró: Contributions, please. No, then let us vote. Countervotes, please. There are not any. I declare it was accepted. (Interjection: "Go ahead, faster!")

Lejtényi: 7th point. An AHUCS member has to accept the declarations of university masses accepted by decisive majority. Justification: if a theory goes to the wall during a debate, it is obviously unjust. What is right, it is the interest of all. What is the interest of all of us, it is obligatory to fight for it.

Perbíró: Contributions? Let's vote. Yes?

(Someone): Another concern, that there is enough room here, why do not they come up here.

Perbíró: Let's vote. Countervotes? (Noise) Please, do not [...]

Lejtényi: [...] university and college students. Experience showed it that the leaders, especially the youth leaders are easily inclined to it. Our envoys should not be leaders (in the incorrect sense of the word), but the faithful and exact executors of the will of youth. The system of commands coming from up is theoretically full of mistakes and practically unjust. (Applause)

Perbíró: Remarks? Any contributors? If there are not any, let's vote. Countervotes! There are not any. I declare it was accepted.

Lejtényi: Chapter III. Forums with the right of accepting declarations. So the structure of the organisation. 1st point, chapter a. Our central and highest body is the student general assembly. Justification: point a and b are justified together, so point b is: the declarations of the student general assembly are considered to be obligatory for all AHUCS members. Justification: all university and college students are at present on a student general assembly. Its declarations must be apprehended as a phenomenon of common will. These declarations are the counterforces to every student.

Perbíró: Contributor? Name please!

Keresztes: Béla Keresztes medical student. AHUCS will become a nationwide organisation and it is beyond any doubt. Then how can the student assemblies be congregated when, as I know, a general assembly means that the sixty percent of all members are at present?

Lejtényi: Well, the answer is that a student general assembly represents the students of a university centre, of a university town, doesn't it? If the students of a given university town are at present on a general assembly then it is obvious that the declaration is obligatory for them. Wait, we are not a nationwide organisation yet. That is why the title of the rules and regulations is: provisional. This temporariness means that we are not a nationwide body yet. Then we will have a complete one which will express the whole. And if the student parliament comes into being, then it will definitely be the highest decision-making forum. Then it will definitely be added that nothing can go against the declarations of the student parliament.

Perbíró: Other remarks? Let's vote. Countervotes! No countervotes. I declare it was accepted.

Lejtényi: 2nd point, section a. The faculty student assembly has a decision-making right. The justification is short: a faculty assembly represents the will of the students of the faculty, section b: the faculty student assembly can make an obligatory decision in faculty matters which decision cannot go against the declarations of the general assembly. These declarations are obligatory for every AHUCS member of the faculty. Justification: it is obvious that a decision of a faculty assembly (which is a fragment of all university and college students) cannot make a decision spreading to all students because it would badly damage democracy. Considering that this kind of declaration is the outcome of the common will of the students of a faculty, it must be observed by all students of the faculty.

Perbíró: Any remarks? Yes!

Soós: Basically I would add that is a kind of negative formulation that it does not go against the declaration of certain bodies. It must be added that a higher body cannot reformulate or annihilate it.

Lejtényi: That is unnecessary because eventually it can only be annihilated by the general assembly.

Perbíró: Yes, from the back rows!

Boy: This is not...what you said before, because it is not added that first the student general assembly makes a decision then the faculty assembly. And if these two are going against each other, then it would result a split now. So this is not possible. On the other hand, if the faculty assembly sits, they already know what their intentions are concerning the student committee and an opposite direction is not possible. So they know what their intentions are.

Székely: László Székely, fourth grade, Faculty of Natural Sciences. I disagree with the modification of this point, namely that it cannot go against the declaration of a higher body, it already includes that if later the higher body – the university student general assembly – makes an opposite decision, the faculty declaration cannot go against it so it is already invalid. Because the given faculty took part in this general assembly and the given faculty also accepted the opposite decision.

Perbíró: Any other remarks? Let's vote. Where is the speaker?

Mónus: Áron Mónus, Faculty of Natural Sciences. I suggest that in a given case, if a student – neglecting the faculty – feels at a student general assembly that a faculty decision goes against the declarations or the beliefs of the student general assembly then the assembly should decide whether it is so or not. Because it may happen, mainly now, at the beginning, that any faculty makes a decision which does not match the declarations of the student general assembly. It may happen because there is still a body which has been brought into action since the birth of AWY by the politics of Rákosi that 'you are youth, the leader of AWY'. They made suggestions and they voted about them and if someone dared to do something else, disagreed, then you could see the consequences – for

example no irregular social payment and things like that. These bodies are still existing and we must watch out that these dark fellows...(delight), who had became the sycophants of this politics, should not have a further influence. They cannot – from the old fashioned politics – ...

Lejtényi: It will be expressed in section b. (Noise.)

Girl: A medical student. What happens if two different faculty decisions go against each other? Which faculty decision will be justified and on the basis of what? (Noise.)

Perbíró: Quiet please! Please listen to the speaker!

(Same contributor): Let me just think about the conflicts between the medical and pharmacy students on the yesterday assembly. (Noise.) Every faculty has its own interest and it may conflict with the interests of another faculty.

(Another girl): I would like to answer. If a faculty has a special interest, it is clear that the given faculty makes the decision. And exactly the medical and pharmacy students are those who – let's say it so – have this conflict, because both faculties have different problems and every faculty is aware of their problems and medicine-pharmacy problems can never clash. (Applause.)

Lejtényi: On the other hand, the formulation of this point is the following: 'can make an obligatory decision in faculty matters'. So only in faculty concerns. So, for example, pharmacy students cannot accept an obligatory declaration within the sphere of law or especially medical students, can they? ...That is logical.

Perbíró: Any other remarks? Then let's vote. Countervotes, please. No countervotes. I declare it was accepted.

Lejtényi: Section c. The faculty assembly can present a proposal towards the student general assembly after it has been accepted by six tenth of the faculty. Justification: a decision of the faculty assembly reflects the will of the majority of the faculty. This decision can be presented in the name of the faculty.

Perbíró: Remarks please. Yes! Name please!

Enyedi: Ferenc Enyedi, Faculty of Arts. It is completely unnecessary in the justification... (Large noise.)

Perbíró: Who wants to speak?

Lejtényi: (technical problem)... the declarations of which do not conflict with the decisions of the higher forums, section b: the decisions of the group gathering are obligatory for the AHUCS members of the group. Section c: the group gathering can lay a declarative proposal before the higher forums. I thought these two points - number three and four - have the same ground as the previous one. So I find it unnecessary to add a separate justification to it in order to spare time. (Right!)

Perbíró: Any comments? Yes!

Soós: I generally cannot agree with the six tenth majority! Practice shows that usually those countries could form qualified majority where decadence has raised its head. I agree with the 51 percent majority.

Lejtényi: It will be the concern of 4th point's 1st point. (Laughter.)

Perbíró: Contributes? Then let's vote, who accepts it? Countervotes. There are not any. It was accepted.

Lejtényi: Section a. Execution.

Perbíró: Just a second, there is a speaker!

Someone: The structure is grammatically not correct. Let's take a dot here!

Perbíró: What?

Someone: 'Decision-making' is not correct grammatically. Present a declarative proposal towards someone or something.

Girl: There was a previous remark: worker-peasant youth [...] and who has the right to revoke the AHUCS membership. I think you said

then it would be presented in chapter III. So I would not like if it would sink into oblivion! (Right, right!)

Boy (law student): I would like to add that the faculty or the student general assembly should also be quorate when 60 or some other percent of the students are at present.

Lejtényi: Chapter IV, 1st point... So the idea has just been raised that connect persons should be sent towards the worker and peasant youth. So let's formulate it now!

(Interjection: Can the outsiders hear the problem? – Yes! The microphone is on!)

Lejtényi: So let's speak about the formulation and the shape, how we should add this idea to the rules and regulations that we send connect persons to worker-peasant youth. So how should it be done? To the organisations or to other bodies? Because their recent organisational form is AWY. So how should we do it... sending connect persons to the AWY?

Boy: I suggest that we should send an AHUCS connect person to every larger factory!

Perbíró: Yes, there is another contributor!

Contributor: I would like to ask the previous speaker how he thinks the realisation. That... you take them to the factory? Or what? It would be good to make a research!

Abrudbányai: It is a question of the future because AHUCS has not gained its final shape in the whole country yet. It will take time until AHUCS becomes a nationwide organisation. We think of it that colleges found AHUCS, peasants establish their own organisation then these would be incorporated into not AWY, but into a unified, embracing organisation, ... (large noise) ... the workers within the factories. After there is an independent organisation, they establish a body according to AHUCS.

Lejtényi: But, first of all, it depends on worker and peasant youngsters whether they found a new organisation.

Perbíró: Yes!

(?): Sándor..., medical student. I think Szabad Ifjúság called us seceders just today. Not completely but that is the situation. We cannot wait till the remaining universities of the country establish their own AHUCS organisations. We have already made it. In order to prevent them from telling workers that we want to deconstruct AWY, that we set up a counter-revolution we should send deputies to the factories. It is all the same whether AWY or they themselves organise a gathering and there the envoys unfold the aims of AHUCS and state that we all back up any actions of workers and peasant youth either within or outside the framework of AWY, if they have rightful claims. ('That is it!', applause.)

Boy: Before we want to send representatives to the factory workers, first we should send them to other important centres because...(noise).

Mihalik: Ferenc Mihalik, sophomore medical student. I suggest that we should copy the here argued and accepted rules and regulations and declarations and spread them to the members and then we send these copies to our young worker and peasant friends to the different parts of the country and they will know that we assist them considering every kind of serious representation of interests. (Yes!) And I would like it if it would be realised really soon. Within days.

Lejtényi: I would like to answer...

Mihalik: Szabad Ifjúság glosses over and Délmagyarország circulates our problems glossing them over! (Standing ovation.)

Székely: I think, first of all, the University Council should send envoys to the factories. Besides, what the previous speaker suggested, these envoys should popularise our rules and regulations and also our claims in the factories, so they should make them conscious of these claims. Furthermore, of course, let's do it, what he said, give copies to

the members. They should also send them to their acquaintances. Besides these, finally, I also suggest that we should popularise these claims and the programme by using the press. We have already started it and we should send the copies to the remaining universities. Several copies to every university. I suggest quite the same realisation as the previous speaker: everybody should send a copy to a friend or a former classmate who is a university student now. And these persons should popularise our thoughts at the given university. (Applause.)

Perbíró: I have to warn the speakers that they should comment the rules and regulations and should not initiate anything diverting the topic. That – what was suggested by Székely natural sciences faculty student –, let you tell me, is going against several laws and would toss the students into such adventures which are not desirable. In the followings the Chancellor has the right to speak, he outlines some aspects of this question.

Baróti: Dear friends! I find it outstandingly important that AHUCS, which is taking shape, should confess solidarity with worker and peasant youth. Temporarily I think there is no need to add more to the rules and regulations. The question of how making contact can be regularised later. It is enough to express the desire of making contact. But actually that is not why I took the floor, more to the point, I find it a right complaint that the press distorts the actions of the university students of Szeged. (Standing ovation.) The seriously taken procession of this gathering has also confirmed us, the present representatives of the circle of professors that this is a firm and democratic gathering of youth. I want to state that I myself will try to make an effort that the press of Budapest and my friends there should handle the action of university youth at the level of its seriousness. They should transmit what you, my friends, have stated here correctly and several times towards the public of the country: that the youth of the universities does not want to split from worker-peasant youngsters. How could it even happen when most of you are the children of the worker and peasant class... (Rhythmical applause.) Dear friends! Let me also tell

you that standing ovation reminds me not the most democratic memories...(delight, applause).

Lejtényi: Let me call your attention to the 5th point of subsection b which includes that until we become nationwide, there would be an organising council which gets in touch with the proper forums you mentioned before. So I suggest the following formulation of Chapter IV, 5th point of section a: 'AHUCS should send envoys to every factory and agricultural centre to get in touch with the youngsters there.' (Interjections: 'No, no! Not yet!', 'Solidarity should be stressed!')

Lejtényi: The problem of solidarity is also in the 5th point of Chapter IV.

Girl: I rise to speak because I think it is not correct to send the envoys now. We have to state in this point that we feel solidarity with the worker-peasant youth but that is all we can do now. That is why you should formulate it this way in the rules and regulations! (It will be included!)

Boy: I would like to ask a question: why does not AHUCS get in touch with secondary schools?

Lejtényi: We do not get involved in secondary school problems. Because we could enrol the pioneer movement as well. The circumstances are not the same in a secondary school and in a university. Neither among workers and peasants as well.

Girl: I would like to add that AHUCS was after all founded to deal with particular university problems. And that is why it differs from AWY. If it included high school students and pioneers and everyone else, it would be unnecessary to look for a new name...(applause, 'Right!')

Vécsei: György Vécsei, faculty of arts. I promote the previous contribution of the high-school student. It is only about making a connection. High-school students will also get on the university so they also have to know our problems and if we get in touch with them

in that way, our life and problems will be displayed to them. It does not mean access to AHUCS for high- school students. (Applause.)

Erdős: Sándor Erdős, pharmacy student. I would like to say that as in the case of worker-peasant youngsters it was proposed that we should join their fight and have solidarity with them – we could do the same in the case of high school students...

Perbíró: It is possible, really. (Applause.)

Boy, biologist, fourth grade: I suggest the followings: bearing in mind that all over the town there are gossips about AHUCS which are far from reality, let us initiate a gathering with present AWY representatives of factories and secondary schools. They and our AHUCS members appointed here could speak about getting in contact...(noise).

Boy: Contacts can be made with worker-peasant youth in Szeged in that way that there would be an AHUCS envoy or committee as it worked in other organisations. It is clear that there is no need to send envoy to every factory, but we could receive the delegates of any factory and peasant youth in a friendly way, regardless what the problem or the question is and these delegates could get in touch with AHUCS or ask for help. That is how we secure cooperation with worker-peasant youth.

Gábor Fodor, member of the Academy: Dear friends of mine, I totally agree with the democratic aims which were mentioned before and I am absolutely pleased by the measured and sober style of every point and justification of the rules and regulations. Well, as I see, the main problem is how it could be possible to have the worker-peasant youth and secondary school students to know that you feel solidarity towards them. Beyond the everyday press products, for example the press of Budapest – as the Chancellor promised it – which will deal with the issue, I think it would be good to appoint your leaders- it is, of course, only a suggestion, I do not want to get involved in the matters of youth – that they should formulate a communique in which

the aims, the basic principles of the rules and regulations, as well as the solidarity with the worker-peasant youth, are stated. (Massive applause.)

Perbíró: My friends, I can declare – hearing this massive applause – that you accepted the suggestion of Gábor Fodor academician unanimously. And you appoint the leaders to formulate a communique in order to inform the press. Before going on with the speeches I inform you that Péter Halász, the workmate of Hétfoi Hírlap is at present and would like to... (His voice is suppressed by invigoration: 'Let's hear him! Let's hear! Hurrah!')

Péter Halász: First of all, dear friends, let me greet you from the bottom of my heart! And I would like to secure all participants of this assembly that the public of the country will get a clear picture about the present general assembly in the tomorrow edition of Hétfoi Hírlap. ('Hurrah!' Standing ovation.)

[Tape error]

Lejtényi: ... I suggest that we divide the whole issue into two parts. We show our solidarity towards worker, peasant and secondary school youth, let us add it to chapter IV, which contains the given regulations as follows: 'We ensure worker, peasant and secondary school students about our solidarity'. Is it OK? Can it be accepted? Right. The second part, concrete realisation, it should be within the organisational part with the following formulation: 'AHUCS sends envoys to worker-peasant and secondary....'

Perbíró: No. Solidarity...

Lejtényi: Is it not necessary? OK, all right, we stay at the first proposal then that we add it to the chapter of mixed dispositions. Do you accept it?

Perbíró: Any countervotes? No. I declare it was accepted. We go to the next point.

Lejtényi: Well, the next point is subsection b. Executive

representative bodies, point 1/a. In the intervals between two student assemblies, the university student council represents all students. Justifications: The declarations of the student general assembly must be executed. Execution – for example petitions or something like that – can not be performed by the community consisting of several thousand students, it is obvious. During negotiations, it is not possible to talk with all students when quick decisions have to be made, it cannot be made even from a practical point of view. The coordination of the claims of the given faculties must also be done and it is much easier through delegates.

Perbíró: Comments please. No Comments? Let's vote. Any counter-opinions? I declare...

Boy: There is a counter-opinion... Considering that we could not understand the proposal in the meantime it should be repeated in order to avoid the system of voting-machine.

Lejtényi: In the intervals between two student assemblies the university student council represents all students. Was it accepted?

Boy: But when it is convoked? What defines the date of convoking?

Lejtényi: Of the student general assembly? In every month. Well, finally it depends on the will of the members but regularly in every month. Ok? Or, may be as a result of a written petition of at least 10 percent of the members. It is absolutely a parliamentlike process.

L. Soós: I suggest that it should be convoked after the initiative of a two-third majority of any faculty! (Right!)

Lejtényi: Ok. That is a detail.

[End of tape 1]

Lejtényi: I disagree because we have to secure the rights of the minority, so when it is initiated by a smaller group of people, it must be convoked. So we stay at the 10 percent.

L. Soós: I would like to add...

Perbíró: It is always the 10 percent of the member of the given faculty.

Girl: I would like to add that if there is not such initiation then it must be convoked quarterly.

Lejtényi: Monthly. Quarterly or monthly? (Crowd: Quarterly!)

Székely: I stand by the quarterly convocation because the convocation of such a huge mass in every month – sometimes even without any particular reason – would be unnecessary, in my opinion. It would contaminate the system of the gatherings that there is an unnecessary convocation and 50-60 percent of the students wait here for one or two hours...

Perbíró: Let us vote about this proposal. So the student general assembly must be convoked quarterly. Countervotes? No, there are not any. I declare it was accepted in that way.

Lejtényi: So the formulation is as follows: 'The student general assembly must be regularly convoked quarterly. An irregular convocation must also be executed by the written petition of at least 10 percent of the members...'

(Interjection cannot be heard.)

Perbíró: Written. Otherwise they can not count the 10 percent. Can 10 percent march on? So a written petition is inevitable. Yes!

Boy: When it is necessary to convoke the general assembly, it must be presented by stating what the reason of convocation is. They inform the other grades and they vote about convocation.

Lejtényi: Right. Can this formulation go?

Perbíró: Well, it can go if a faculty wants it then 51 percent of the students of the faculty. Is that all right? Can it be accepted? Countervotes, please! There are not any. I declare it was accepted in that way.

Lejtényi: Article b. The university council is an executive body

without the right of making decisions. Justification: if we give the right to make decision to the university student council we would give a chance to resuscitate the system of commands coming from up we all deeply disapprove. The task of the university student council is to execute those declarations which were accepted by the student general assembly and was desired by all university and college students. Can it go?

Perbíró: Any comments? No. Let us vote. Any countervotes? There are no any, so I declare it was accepted.

Lejtényi: Article c. The university council consists of three-three delegates of all faculties, who are elected on the faculty assemblies by general, democratic balloting. Justification: experience has showed that a smaller body can get faster through doubtful questions. The delegates must be elected according to the principle of operation of the alliance in order to avoid contradiction in terms.

Perbíró: Any contributions? Yes!

Laszádi: László Laszádi, medical student. I would like to add something to this point I previously said to the leaders of AHUCS and I would like to tell it to you now. If every faculty elects three deputies, a contradictory situation can come into being that there can be grades which are not represented at all. It may happen that one person represents two grades and a grade is not represented at all. As a consequence, the leading board can get distant from that grade, more clearly from the masses, from you. I think there is another hindering effect of this thing: if every grade elects, every faculty elects three deputies, the grade does not know itself as the students know each other. So every faculty, every grade should elect a deputy to that council. In that way the leading board would prove to be more democratic. The leaders could not get distant from the crowd even if they would want to. (Applause.)

Székely: I would like to say something though I have already commented the problem previously. In my opinion, the deputies of the grades take part in the faculty assembly. The deputies of the faculty in the university council. The university student council cannot be a mass

organisation in which every grade represents themselves. Now I think of the 20-person grades, there are a lot of them on the Faculty of Natural Sciences. The fact that certain grades are not represented in the student council, results in some insufficiency anyway till the faculty student councils have come into being. But the next point regulates the question of faculty student council and according to it I support the idea of the three persons.

Perbíró: Lejtényi has the right to speak.

Lejtényi: So, why we have settled by number three. As Székely has just unfolded it, there are grades which consist of twenty people. But there is... I want to unfold another problem. The College of Pedagogical Studies consists of three grades. The faculty of medicine of six grades. If every grade would elect a deputy into the university student council, one faculty – namely the faculty of medicine – and I really do not want to suspect the faculty of medicine of anything at all or I would not want to generate any kind of tension, it would be a mistake to suppose. Anyway, if we would elect grade by grade, one faculty would have more representatives in the student council and it would not lead to democratic...(noise). But if every faculty sends three persons, none of the faculties can overbalance university student council, democracy is secured. Of course, the decisive aspect of the election of the deputies – it must be taken into consideration – is that those must be elected in whom the faculties can put tremendous trust.

Perbíró: Yes!

Girl: I also agree with the three persons mainly because if there are more people than 18, 20 or 21 it will turn into a mass event and even those few people – already 18 or 21 or who knows how many – can hardly manage. We experienced it when we prepared the rules and regulations and the others. And you know really well when everyone has a proposal, an idea, the faculties can talk them over and there can be a lively connection through AHUCS delegates. But 18 or 21 people are far enough – so three-three persons – to talk everything over.

Boy: The faculty of medicine has doubts because we were pushed back and it has not been solved yet. And I am nearly sure about it if it will be organised on the faculty of medicine, exactly the problem of AHUCS, then the students will accept it. I am a medical student too, that is why I speak so.

Laszáti: I would like to talk again. I would like to warn you again not to get distant, be aware of the leaders not to get distant from the masses! (Noise.)

Lejtényi: It is all too reactive because the student council is not a decision-making but an executive body.

Laszáti: So I accept the will of the majority.

Perbíró: Please vote. Does someone still want to speak?

Boy: I would like to ask till when is the election is valid?

Lejtényi: The election is valid until the members call back the deputies. Of course in every year, in every sixth month, in every year, maximum. So the deputies are elected for one schoolyear (large noise). Do we elect them in every sixth month? In every year!

Abrudbányi: The one year validity is suitable because a grade leaves the university every year so another election is needed.

Perbíró: Let us vote about it. Can it be accepted in that way? Please raise your hands in time or we never finish!

Boy: I have already raised my hand. It must be modified that they can be called back any time.

Perbíró: That was the point. Please vote. Do you accept it? Countervotes! There are no any. I declare this was accepted by the assembly.

Lejtényi: So. I present the 2nd and the 3rd points together. 2nd point section a: the execution of the declarations of the faculty assembly is the duty of the faculty council elected on every grade; section b: the faculty council has no right to make declarations. Section 3/a: the

execution of the grade assembly is the duty of the faculty council elected on every grade; section b: the grade council has no right to make declarations. 4th point, section a: the execution of the declarations of the group assembly is the duty of the group delegate elected by the group. Section b: the group deputy has no right to make declarations. Since these points are theoretically the same as the former ones, I thought there was no need to write another justification.

Perbíró: Contributions please!

Soós: It is not defined yet, at what intervals should the faculty and grade assemblies be congregated.

Lejtényi: These are special local concerns which can not be regulated by the rules and regulations.

Perbíró: Let us vote about it. Any countervotes? I declare there were no any countervotes, it was accepted.

Lejtényi: 5th point. Until the organisation is not a nationwide one, the organising council operating beside the university student council gets in touch with the university students of the country in order to widen the basis of the organisation. Justification: to make a local, small organisation is going against our aims. Our organisation must be a nationwide one including all university and college students. The task of the organising council should only be to get in touch with them and to conduct the affairs of this concern and to be responsible for operation towards all students.

Perbíró: Any remarks? Yes, please! Well, I ask you to vote. Any contributions? (Can not be heard!)

Lejtényi: Yeah, towards all students, yes...

Perbíró: Let's vote, do you accept it with the modification? Countervotes please! There are not any, I declare it was accepted.

Boy: I would like to talk about something that was totally forgotten. It is the problem of assistant lecturers. According to the

rules and regulations, assistant lecturers are not represented in the university council.

Lejtényi: If they get enough votes, they are.

Girl: Wouldn't it be good to define, how many deputies can they send?

Lejtényi: No, they are included in the faculty...

Boy: I suggest that assistant lecturers should belong to the faculty or grade of the given professorship.

Lejtényi: It goes without saying. Chapter IV. Mixed regulations. An assembly is quorate when 60 percent of the members are at present. There is no need to justify this point.

Boy: 60 percent of the members are at present. So that is general, a whole majority is required. Probably the 60 percent of those who are at present?

Perbíró: Dear friends, two questions must be taken into consideration here. One thing is when a general assembly is quorate and there is another what makes a declaration valid. For a quorate assembly the presence of the 60 percent of the members is needed and for making a declaration the 51 percent of the members who are at present. So declarations are made with simple majority. Can it be accepted concerning this interpretation? Countervotes please! There are not any, I declare it was accepted by the assembly. Any opinions going against it? Yes!

Boy: I only argue with the simple majority, I think 51 percent is not enough. (Insufficient recording.)

Boy: In connection with this point, I would like to add that it could only be accepted if AWY is also willing to receive an AHUCS member on their assemblies, because if AWY admits AHUCS, then they are obliged to receive our members on their assemblies.

Lejtényi: That is correct.

Perbíró: Dear friends of mine, we have received a telegram in the meantime. Let me read it. University of Szeged Student Committee of AHUCS Szeged. Please inform us, we wish you success and we send our greetings to you! – The students of the University of Technology. (Massive applause.) Another telegram: The college of Agricultural Mechanical Engineers – the assembly of the 2nd grade has talked over the 12-point declaration of the students of Szeged. The grade agrees with the claims of the 12 points and we ask you to add the urgent supervision of welfare institutions like youth hostels, diner, fellowship etc. To the 3rd point concerning university reforms. We did not receive a truck due to administrative instructions namely there was no permission to carry persons on it so we could not take part in the Saturday mass gathering. We agree with the reorganisation of AHUCS and we assist. And we very much welcome you as well! – The 2nd grade of the College of Agricultural Mechanical Engineers. (Steady applause.) I ask you to vote about the formerly presented point of the rules and regulations. Countervotes please! There are not any, I declare it was accepted.

Lejtényi: 3rd point. When our alliance becomes a nationwide organisation, our highest decision-making body will be the student parliament. Justification: student parliament will be the will-displaying forum of all Hungarian university and college students.

Perbíró: Remarks please!

Boy: I partly disagree with the idea that the student parliament will include universities which are not the members of AHUCS. So AHUCS cannot be accepted...

Lejtényi: That is impossible. It will be exclusively the student parliament of AHUCS.

Perbíró: Any other contributions? I ask you to vote. Countervotes, please! It was accepted by the assembly without countervote.

Lejtényi: When our alliance becomes a nationwide organisation, the AHUCS parliament will be our highest decision-making body.

4th point. The composition and the operative principles of the student parliament must be decided at the student general assemblies of the certain universities. Justification: the first task is to create a wider university organisation. And then we talk over that...so let us create the wider organisation first and when there is an AHUCS body at every university centre, then there will be unified negotiations and their opinions will be coordinated by the highest body. Is that right?

Perbíró: Any contributions? Let us vote. Countervotes, please! It was accepted without countervotes.

Lejtényi: 5th point. AHUCS wants to have a friendly and mutually backed up connection with AWY. Justification: AHUCS is an alliance of university and college students, it does not split up with and does not stand against its brothers, the worker and peasant youth, whose current organisational form is the AWY. We do not have opposite claims, but they show to different directions.

Perbíró: Any remarks? Please vote. Countervotes, please! It was accepted without countervote.

Lejtényi: 6th point. The basic operative and organisational principle of AHUCS is perfect democracy, which is articulated according to the principles of the 20th congress. One-man leadership was replaced with the leadership of the widest masses, dogmatism with the free and fruitful fight of opinions and ideas. Justification: we have experienced... (Interception: 'There is no need to justify it! Any remarks?')

Boy: I have a proposal considering the mixed regulations, not this one. As we have stood by the whole Hungarian youth alliance, we have to stand by the international youth alliance as well. We should assist them and ask for their assistance as well. (Applause.)

Perbíró: It is clear from the loud applause that this proposal was accepted unanimously, so there is no need to vote about it. There is another proposal.

Boy: I suggest that if AHUCS is going to be a nationwide university organisation, then we should ask for the possibility of joining the International Democratic Youth Federation. (Applause.)

Boy: I would like to suggest something else. Every organisation of the world has a financial background. No one mentioned about the financial background of this organisation in the rules and regulations. Obviously, there should be such a thing. ('Should be!', noise) When it becomes a nationwide organisation, then the student parliament of AHUCS will have to make a decision about it, we, the students of Szeged cannot decide whether the students of the other universities...

Perbíró: Dear friends of mine, let me tell you something in this matter! I do not want to interfere in your affairs, but it is a very important question, indeed, because the youth alliance must have some kind of financial basis. I propose the next formulation: the alliance – AHUCS – requires a membership fee from the members and the amount of the fee will be decided by the student parliament. If you accept it, please raise your hands! Yes?

Boy: I think AHUCS must have a financial basis here in Szeged till then. For example, we have already declared that we should get blanks printed. It needs a financial background. So let us vote a temporary fee now!

Boy: Everybody should contribute according to their present financial situation! ('No!')

Boy: In my opinion, if somebody signs the transcription form, should immediately pay two forints or something in order to establish a financial fund! (Applause.)

Boda: I am Andor Boda from the faculty of medicine. Considering this urgent need for money I suggest that we should vote that everyone could give some money now. ('No, not!')

Girl: If that is the way of solving the problem, it would be much more purposeful and rational that every grade should elect on AHUCS

contact person or call it what you want and the grade gives the money to that person who forwards it to the student council.

Lejtényi: But how much money?

Girl: Well, the amount should be decided by the grade or the unified student assembly should define it right now.

Boy: I would like to say something. AWY has never lived from only its membership fees. We are the legal successor of AWY, we inherit the financial basis of AWY within the framework of the university. They have always backed up AWY, they should back up AHUCS now! (Invigoration.)

Boy: But, for example, the communique should soon be formulated and multiplied.

Lejtényi: It is needless to be multiplied, one copy is enough. The newspapers will publish the communique, the press will deal with it...

Péter Halász, journalist: Certainly a newspaper cannot publish the whole communique or the whole text of the rules and regulations because it would fill the newspaper entirely. However, I would find it a correct thing to formulate a shorter communique then we should have a look at it together whether it can be published or not. But I do not know that the publication of the communique would mean more than a colourful, exact account about the significance of the today assembly? ('An account would mean more!') Recently we read a lot of communiques. Usually they are not colourful, amusing readings. It would be good now to turn back to journalism. I am here to transmit and mirror this event towards the readers.

Székely: First of all I would like to tell you that it is true that the communique costs nothing but, for example, some people got in touch with other universities by visiting them on their own expenses. Another concern is that somehow it should be secured for AHUCS to take part in the distribution of the still existing university cultural and sport funds. So the cultural and sport fund can be harmonized in a

better way than in the current situation that they are distributed on the grades.

Perbíró: The Chancellor has the right to speak.

Baróti: Can I speak now? Dear friends! Perhaps, in order to avoid unnecessary debates over that matter, I could make an announcement, though I wanted to come up with it later. As far as I am concerned, I de facto admit the foundation of AHUCS and I consider this democratic gathering of youth as a representation of the youth of Szeged and I will lay it before the university council. Of course, the establishment of AHUCS raises several difficult legal problems, which I myself can not make clear. Such a problem is the future of the university cultural and sport fund and several other questions. The adjustment of AHUCS to the structure of university life will be launched on Monday during my negotiations with the local university student council and we will find out together where AHUCS could be temporarily fitted in the university, which, of course, can only gain a legal status if the Ministry of Home Affairs admits the status of AHUCS. I promise you that I will promote the organisational form of AHUCS when I send it to the Secretary of Education. I will back up the endeavours of AHUCS because I have been convinced that the youth of our university takes the questions referring to them seriously and I believe that the university student council will help me to maintain complete order and tranquility at the university during the following days and weeks. It is very important because the execution of dispositions concerning the facultative language learning, for example, and several other youth claims can only be made if the university youth shows immaculate discipline in order to help those leaders of the university who agree with them and cannot even imagine university without cooperating with youth. I believe and everything I have heard convinces me that the university youth of Szeged is ripe for cultivating its own cases and ripe for realising educational discipline and everything else which is required for peaceful university work. So that is why we should not start talking over the relationship between the university, the university council and

AHUCS – as I said I can not make a one-man decision in this matter. I think it is enough at the moment that I will add all important questions to the agenda with the youth council with my really strong appeal and love of youth. (Applause.)

Boy: I would like to ask the journalists to publish the telegrams in their newspapers we have already received. Not their words, but the faculties that sent them so the country could see that... (Noise suppressed by applause.)

Perbíró: My friends, we interrupt contributions for a while and I pass the right of speaking to the editor of Délmagyarország.

Tibor Markovits: Just a few words. The reason of being late is that I could hardly get in here. The Délmagyarország totally agrees with the claims of the university youth of Szeged. Undoubtedly, we only published a short writing about the previous gathering. The editorial board decided to publish all claims of suggestions of university youth in the tomorrow edition. We also publish an account about the recent assembly. We deal separately with the events of today and the previous days in our editorial. We also mention the contributions, claims and words of youngsters in the account about Attila József Circle. That is what I wanted to tell you. (Massive applause.) We also ask in the editorial for larger circulation and larger extent. The columns of the newspaper are not made of rubber – as journalist slang says. As we say, six colums are six colums, not even a row can be added. You may have seen the today edition, there is so much to mention but the space is limited. Numbers, ads. We can not put more in it than what the size of the paper lets. That is why we publish every event according to our possibilities and the details of the events concerning the programme of AHUCS if we get the declaration form which announces the passing of the rules and regulations, mainly the details. Probably not in the tomorrow edition because we cannot jam everything in, but in the next one. So we absolutely agree with the proposals and we try to do our best and tell the story in the tomorrow edition without any kind of self-restrictions. (Massive applause.)

Perbíró: Let us continue the remarks. Yes!

Boy: AWY should have represented the interests of youth. First of all, the interests of university students. It has become clear for all of us that AWY has failed to achieve these goals.

Abrudbányai: Here at the university we have dawned on the fact that we have found each other because our interests point to the same direction. We would like – and I think we all would like – if we would exterminate the – here and there – still existing lawyer-doctor oppositions and we would shake hands finally! (Great enthusiasm, applause.)

Boy: My contribution is not about the rules and regulations. The rules and regulations are nice and correct. We see that the youth of all universities has stood by us, and we should... (Great delight suppresses his voice.)

Perbíró: Please continue your contribution.

Boy: Let us make a remarkable monument and we have the opportunity, it may cost lots of money, comrades, but we do not have to realise it at once. There is a clock in the institute, this clock plays music, it is famous all over Europe, and it has never come to anyone's mind for the last twelve years that the clock should have been repaired, we should gather the money. I make use of the present situation that we are all here together, it is the investment of the basic organisation, we should make a declaration after talking the programme over that we get the clockwork repaired. Everybody gives in some money depending on their current financial situation. This clock should work till the AHUCS fullfills its task. (Applause.)

Girl: I would like to answer...

The previous boy: Comrades! I did not mean to go there and destroy the clock, if something... I did not mean it, anyway, to stop the clock...(Noise, interjections.)

Perbíró: Dear friends, I am forced to withdraw the right of speaking from the contributor because it is absolutely another concern. I do not

want to cause any harms but I think you speak like daydreamers. There is no room for such thoughts on this general assembly! We discuss the rules and regulations now. Order please! We talk about the rules and regulations, please keep focusing on this point!

Girl: I would like to get an answer ...

Boy: I wanted a remarkable monument...

Girl: The Chancellor mentioned that the university council dealt with the restoration of the clock and its total costs are one hundred thousand forints. (Astonishment.)

Boy: It costs ten thousand forints. And although it is another concern, I would like to tell you at last: it costs ten thousand forints to create a new clockwork and the person who made it is willing to restore the clock, to make a new clock, but the materials cost ten thousand forints.

Baróti: Move on by closing this matter that if the person repairs it for ten thousand forints then he should come and see me!

Boy: In the meantime, an assistant lecturer made a suggestion. He said that... And I would like us to declare what everybody wants to say, we should pay an AHUCS membership fee! (Large noise suppresses the speaker.)

Lejtényi: I have a bridging proposal: the original fee was one forint per month, but let us make the following... considering that we want to maintain the friendly relationship with AWY: let us pay fifty fillérs for AWY and fifty fillérs for AHUCS! (Laughter.) That is a clear situation. (Interruption: 'Please finish it!')

Kiss: Tamás Kiss, law student. We have already stated that there is an application form at every grade and we have a proposal now considering its text: 'Declaration of Entering, I, the under-mentioned – future profession, grade, student – now join AHUCS. I accept its rules and regulations and I consider them as to be obligatory regarding myself, signature.' It is the task of the grade contact person or the

faculty council when it is gathered on the faculties and it is also possible – if you accept it – that the given person gives one forint when he/she signs the declaration. ('Right!', applause.)

Perbíró: The applause asserts me that we are finished with this matter now. The membership fee is one forint per month. (Contribution cannot be understood, noise.) Dear friends, discussion is finished! It is no use debating over the question further. I think the points of views can now be summarised. By András Lejtényi.

Lejtényi: So I suggest that we should accept the following formulation: 'AHUCS requires financial contribution from its members, namely a membership fee which is one forint per month'. ('Right!', applause.)

Perbíró: One last additional proposal.

Girl: This is not an additional proposal because it was mentioned previously. Every contributor has the right, it was postponed and we still owe. So who has, have the right to withdraw AHUCS membership? This is not clear yet. Please argue it!

Lejtényi: The general assembly should have the right – I suggest.

Perbíró: Yes, Tamás Kiss rises to speak!

Kiss: I have a proposal. Withdrawal is the duty of the faculty assemblies. Here we do not know everyone, that is why the general assembly cannot do it. The faculty assembly can withdraw certain AHUCS members if it is properly justified and they can exclude them – sorry, they cannot withdraw them – they can exclude them. But those members who were excluded by the faculty assembly or council can appeal towards the general student assembly. We deal with it only then.

Perbíró: I ask you, do you accept this proposal? ('Yes!') Countervotes, please. There are not any so I declare it was accepted.

Lejtényi: There is something else. So...

Horváth: Ede Horváth, fourth grade, faculty of medicine. I would have liked something. In the name of the strong unity initiated by the common difficulty I accept the friendly hand offered by the lawyer students – I think I represent a strong majority of the medical students – because we have been searching the way of shaking hands for four years. (Applause.)

Perbíró: Dear friends! I close the argument regarding the rules and regulations and I declare that the presented text modified by the current additional proposals is unanimously accepted by the general assembly. Does anyone have an opposite opinion in connection with the proposal of the declaration? If not, I consider the first point done and we move on to the second point. The programme of AHUCS. Presenter: Tamás Kiss.

Kiss: Before I start to present the programme plan of AHUCS – and I want to stress it is just a plan –, just a few words to let you know that the programme plan we are going to state or argue is claimed by the students of Szeged in general, and it does not deal with the particular problems of the faculties. These particular problems unfolded, for example, on the medical assembly or at the assembly of the College of Pedagogical Studies are the concern of the faculty assembly because if we include them, we will have 99 points. Therefore, above all, I would like to present the inherency of the plan.

1st point: The political screening of university youth should be done in the spirit of the party declaration concerning intellectuals published in August.

2nd point: The periodical Szegedi Egyetem should be the forum of university and college students, which must be reflected in the content and outlook.

3rd point: The members of the student welfare committee should be elected by the faculty assemblies.

4th point: We claim the right of arranging free theoretical debates.

5th point: Overexertion must be terminated – here come a lot of subpoints:

a) martial education should be terminated in the case of girl students and should be reduced to two lessons per week in the case of boy students,

b) in the case of extracurricular subjects the graduation should be: meets demands or does not meet demands (applause),

c) the education of Marxism should be freed from dogmatism, the graduation should be: meets demands or does not meet demands. (Applause.) We want more special elective lessons and less mandatory lessons.

6th point: a) We establish a housing committee which declares the maximum rent of flats.

b) The youth representative of a Youth Hostel can veto the appointment of the manager. (Applause, 'Yes!')

c) Youth hostels should be made out of free public buildings if it meets demands.

7th point:

a) Travels should be organised abroad, to the East and West as well. (Applause.)

b) We claim a 50% allowance for interior travels. (Massive applause.)

8th point: We claim a general ticket price allowance for every cultural event. Cinema, theatre, concert etc. (Applause.)

9th point: We claim that the school of music should be regarded as a college and we demand proper university student rights for its students.

10th point: We claim that the nurses' training school should be regarded as a college and we demand proper college student rights for its students. (Applause.)

These were mainly the educational problems and programmes.

Political demands:

- 1) We claim that the persons being responsible for the crimes of the previous era must be arraigned and their trials must be arranged in front of the widest public. (Massive applause, invigoration.)
- 2) We want the freedom of information, the press should account and comment everything. (Applause.)
- 3) We claim that Imre Nagy and György Lukács must be elected into central leading board. (Steady applause.)
- 4) We want a wage reform. The upper limit of total income deriving from the state must be defined and the raise of low salaries must be accelerated. (Applause.)
- 5) We want the abolition of death penalty in political cases. (Applause.)
- 6) We want a reestablished, free, democratic elective system. (Massive invigoration, steady applause.)
- 7) We claim that university youth should get a greater role in conducting the political and other cases of the country. (Applause.)

Perbíró: Dear friends, before giving way to the remarks, I let József Papp Szekeres speak, the third year student of the College of Agricultural Mechanical Engineers of Budapest.

Papp Szekeres: Dear friends, first of all, I would like to inform you that you have already received two telegrams from our college and I am here with one of my friends. I said there would be no any telegrams coming from my college and the telegram did not refer to my arrival. Something was messed up. The first telegram was sent by our AWY leaders (by the way, this AWY leading board will be replaced next week). It can be told from its style. You were right when you

booed it. The second one was sent after I had left Budapest by the sophomore students who held an AWY meeting as a result of hearing about the events that happened in Szeged. I am actually a third grade student and I was sent here by the third and the fourth grade. My duty is to express their solidarity and thanks in connection with your activity and with what you have started. Our students would like to build a strong relationship with the students of Szeged, which would be dedicated to helping each other through the struggle and fight. It would absolutely make no sense to fight separately, without any contact. The student parliament was also established at us. And we want it to work on the basis of the same principles as you. And I would like to tell you, since we are all people of agriculture and the issue of agriculture may not have been stressed properly in the programme, the conditions of the peasants and the improvement of their situation as we would have liked it to be stressed. We will work in the countryside, will work with peasants. Those people who feed everyone in this country. So we would like to ease their circumstances somehow. We thought we would carry on the issues of the debate of the Petofi Circle, the remark of Zoltán Vass that the taxes of the peasantry should be abolished...(Massive applause.) And in the end I would like say my greetings and thanks that...[...]

Girl: [...] they were rejected but when the semester started, they were accommodated in the great hall of Apáthy Youth Hostel, in the so-called learning room. That is not sufficient at all. I think a lot of us know about this situation, I do not want to unfold it [...] fifty bunk beds in a room. Well, to cut it short – I finish it soon. So again... Today our directress took over the Youth Hostel in Tolbuhin Boulevard at ten a. m. as an accommodation for us. But it is not enough. We have no idea how to gain new places. Unfortunately, we have to solve the problem because we have not received any assertion since 17 September. The answer was the today report of Délmagyarország, in which we could read the statement of Mrs. László Rajk and she offered ten thousand forints for the people's college. We all cheered up and sent a telegram to the ministry, I do not read it up but now I

ask for assistance from AHUCS, from the general assembly. Well, that is it what I would have liked to give you in the name of the first grade, we ask for assistance! (Applause.)

Perbíró: Zoltán Lukács, a fourth grade student from the Faculty of Natural Sciences has the right to speak. He will speak in general.

Lukács: I would like to comment the today article of Szabad Ifjúság. The article stated that the university students of Szeged were the first in the country who established AHUCS. Our step was revolutionary, it goes without saying. But we have to protest against every accusation which stigmatizes us with bull-headedness and thoughtlessness. We were strong and brave enough to make something new and bold against them. Whoever doubts this, I let them know we will have the strenght and bravery to go on and widen the fight we have started. That is why I propose and we have to stress it with the strongest determination that we want to work together with worker-peasant and intellectual youngsters. I suggest – going a little bit against the previous issue – that we should invite delegations from the youth of factories and agricultural co-operatives of Szeged to the faculty assemblies. (Noise.) My further proposal is that the general assembly should send a message to the city party committee and ask them for undertaking protectorate over our new alliance! (Laughter, noise, whistle.)

Perbíró: Géza Tóth, a freshman from the faculty of medicine has the right to speak.

Tóth: Honoured general assembly! We know that we haven't been let celebrate the 15th of March worthily in the last 5-6 years, at least. Therefore I suggest you that we should claim that 15th of March should be declared officially to be the feast of youth. (Applause.)

Boy: I would like to answer. The Hajnóczy Circle of the Faculty of Law of Budapest had forwarded this claim to comrade Sándor Rónai, the president of the Parliament, long ago and it is likely to be discussed during the next session of the Parliament. The lawyers will put across this claim and the 15th of March will become a general public holiday. (Noise.)

Kiss: I suggest that it should be included as an 18th point. (Massive applause.)

Girl: Let me make a correction. The previous speaker, the medical freshman said: to be the feast of youth. Currently the 15th of March is the feast of youth. We want it to be a national feast, not only a feast of youth! (Steady applause.)

Perbíró: I inform the general assembly there are three contributors left who want to speak in general. After them please do not go on because we have to discuss the details of the programme points. We hear György Halász now!

Halász: György Halász, fourth grade, medical student. I would like to comment the political aims. I think one of the strongest desires of all Hungarian people is that the tens of thousands of Russians staying in our country should be withdrawn! ('Yeah!', great invigoration; long, rhythmical applause.)

Perbíró: Dear friends! Let me warn you not to fall for provocative suggestions. (Some approvals.) Please think it thoroughly over before you rise to speak!

Boy: Let me say that you must have heard in connection with our assembly kept on last Tuesday that there was some sort of deviation at the end of it. That is why I really ask you that if you suggest something, your suggestion must be real – and ours! (Noise, objections.) Let me just add a little comment to this question: the withdrawal of the Russian troops is not a kind of problem what we can solve. The Warsaw Treaty is still existing, it has not lost its legal status yet. (Interjection: 'It cannot be denounced unilaterally!') We have to wait that those bodies of the power that have the right to make a decision do it. I have to warn you very seriously not to go too far! We should rather think it over three times before making a step! (Applause.)

György Halász: I am a very simple man. I protest against calling me a provocateur. I think I am an honest person and I think those are also

honest people who applauded massively and did not fall for my provocative suggestion. The comrade called it provocation. Tell this in front of workers and peasants, too. (Long applause.) There are no Russian troops in every people's democracy. And now, when comrade Gerő had a visit in Moscow – so it is not only me who sees it that way –, he had negotiations with Soviet leaders in this matter. (Noise.)

Perbíró: Order please!

Boy: So let us declare it that the goal of our recent assembly is to discuss the organisational problems of a student-youth organisation. If the other organisations of the country claim this and if this question rears its head in any other way – in parliamentary or in any other form –, our organisation will join them, of course. But now it is not our task to talk this problem over and it would only hamper the fast solution of our organisational problems. (Sparse applause.)

Perbíró: Abrudbányai law student has the right to speak!

Abrudbányai: I suggest that – like in Yugoslavia – the obligatory delivery of agricultural surpluses should be abolished. We really share solidarity with the peasantry through this claim.

Perbíró: Attila Kádár has the right to speak!

Kádár: Honoured general assembly! I really regret that this problem has not been raised yet but I try to unfold it now. I suggest and I myself demand it that not only here in Szeged but all universities of the country should get autonomy. An autonomy which secures sovereign university civil rights to university students. I myself demand that it be included in the next point.

Girl: Unfold it more precisely, how do you mean?

Lejtényi: Concretely!

Kádár: As far as I am concerned I represent the older generation. I asked an older person, a university person, but rather a university leader who is an expert of its legal environment to define the notion.

At least to unfold what university autonomy, what sovereign university civil right means.

Perbíró: Dear friends, I think there is no need to dwell upon the question because the establishing of the university autonomy is under way. It means the right of self-governing for the university. The secretary is only a supervisor but the university council makes decisions of first instance in every case concerning the university. Regarding the old context of university autonomy it also meant a certain degree of exterritoriality: namely that armed forces cannot enter the university without the permission of the chancellor. (Applause.) Anyway, please let me spotlight the currently operating version of university autonomy at our general assembly today. This is the widest autonomy when the students of the university organise a general assembly of their own free will and nobody puts obstacles in the way of it as far as the state leaders of the university are concerned. It is also a manifestation of the right of autonomy. Of course, these are only the first steps, but these organisational questions cannot be solved in the first moment according to the requirements of youth.

Kiss: I suggest that we include it as the 19th point that we demand university autonomy. ('Yes!', applause.) We can accelerate the course of an already started process and we will achieve an outcome as in the case of the Russian language, about which they have been negotiating for years now, and when we demanded it, they solved it.

Kádár: I would like to stress it again that armed forces should not get in here.

Boy: Dear friends! I prepared for this question, at least I tried to do my best during the preparations. I asked some older teachers who used to be students what sovereignty really means. According to them, it consists of two parts. First of all it means a territorial sovereignty, namely that nobody could enter the university without the permission of the chancellor, for example an armed soldier or a policeman etc. But after a crime, if a student had committed a crime out there and after he fled – to use this word – or came back within the territory of

the university, this student could only be captured with the permission of the chancellor. The second part of the notion is entirely touches the sphere of the university. It represented special interests. For example the lecturer made his plan of tuition, sorry, not the plan of tuition but his syllabus for the whole year. It was discussed on the dean's gathering and it was accepted by the chancellor.

Perbíró: No, absolutely not!

Same boy: No? I may have been misinformed, but that is what I was told.

Perbíró: I think there is no need to talk this question further over because our friend's information does not fit reality. We are old university people, we lived in the atmosphere of the old university, too, the previously described autonomy was another thing. Namely, it was mainly the same thing but these questions do not fit the sphere of autonomy. It is true that the lecturers presented their subject without any kind of restriction, they were not bound by any kind of programme. They did not make any kind of syllabus, so if I, as a trade exchange lawyer, talked about the holding through twenty lessons, I was not bound. And if I wanted to talk about the limited, I could talk about it through forty lessons as well. At worst the students did not hear about what they had to know at the exam. So there was not a bound syllabus or programme in the old university order. We could, of course, have a long discussion whether it was right or not but I think it is another concern. Let me continue remarks and let me inform you that Tibor Kurucz wants to speak, though he did not raise his hand.

Kurucz: Dear friends of mine! My first sentence is that my contribution is... we should demand a public press forum for AHUCS [...] Yesterday we were accused in this hall of wanting to split up with worker-peasant youth. We strive for our individual aims, we scorn physical workers and AHUCS has no demands which would touch the problems of the workers' class or the peasantry. On what basis do we want to get involved in state politics? I think we all know who the

sources of these accusations are and why they want to open a gap between young workers and us. First of all, we have the right to vote. So we have the right to come up with nationwide problems and demand remedy for them. On the other hand, we have programme points which deal with general ... social questions, as the withdrawal of foreign troops from our country, changing the direction of our economic policy, calling Mihály Farkas, Mátyás Rákosi to public account. I do not continue. Thirdly, how could we split up with worker-peasant youth when we ourselves are mostly worker-peasant youngsters, too? [...] We are all Hungarians. And we demand the same, that foreign armed forces should not assist [...] the behaviour of our teacher, namely going against the party had an influence on the students, nurtured the emerging of right-wing views existing within the circle of students. (Noise.) Some students picked up the habit of mocking the socialist work of building and enlarging and distorting mistakes that happened during the building process because of the deficiencies of our party work. Many of our good will students became discouraged and others joined the groups that spread these views. The account and the debate sharply spotlighted that some students using indecent demagoguery ... I do not know whether rehabilitation was mentioned [...] and of course, there is no signature. And the article informs us about the session of the active party group, according to the party secretary it was Lajos Székely, who else, it cannot be imagined that he has not a hand in the case since he has it in every dirty case... (massive applause), who is almost a member of the dynasty due to his family relations. (Laughter.) I would like to call his attention, he published a not too friendly article, titled The problems of a Study. In this he writes with great enthusiasm while citing from several studies that professor István Vajtai has nothing to do with aesthetics because he is illiterate and can not formulate. If he wishes, I can read it up, which is surely the literary fundamental of the article suggested by Lajos Székely ('Let us hear it, let us hear it!') 'This infinite civil, aristocratic empathy... is the persistently pregnant symbol

of theoretical uneducation and silliness of thoughts, it represents the swamp of aesthetic enjoyment in the declining citizen aesthetics in which everyone who has no feelings or thoughts suitable for being expressed precisely can feel good.' So professor Vajtai can not formulate, he is thoughtless, therefore he is not able to express his feelings. These people are maleficent. I have just been informed at the end of the session and it is obviously interesting though it just partly touches the case. The last contribution of Lajos Székely was that AHUCS is only a temporary boom. Some days ago there was an article in *Délmagyarország* signed as Ferenc Németh – Stones in the luggage –, it is clear that he is Lajos Székely, too. And there is another interesting thing... about the Vajda-Vajtai case, according to comrade Stróbli this case was not added to the agenda of the party committee at ten a.m., though it has been constantly discussed since Tuesday and everybody wishes Vajda and Vajtai could get a department. In the meantime I was informed and I would like to ask professor Baróti whether Baróti, Halász and Kótai – I mean Koltay – declared they were going to resign if professor Vajda would be restored and would get a department at the college? And Sőtér plays up with them in the ministry.

Perbíró: Who? Sőtér? What was the last sentence? Plays up with them.

Baróti: I would like to answer right now. There was no petition from Baróti, Halász and Koltai, there was not any, it is the case of the college and we have nothing to do with the rehabilitation of a college department. The other thing: here I stated on the statutory meeting of Attila József Circle yesterday on the basis of the licence of Sőtér deputy-secretary that professor Vajda was going to regain his position at the college department... (massive applause) from where he had been removed in an irregular, lawless way. This question is now the question of filling in a new designation document, so it is merely a technical question. We can say that the Vajda case is now finished. And there is no Vajtai case because Vajtai has never been removed from his previous position.

Valkói: That is not true.

Baróti: If the college wants to give him a higher qualification, the associate professor or the professor degree, it is certainly the concern of the special college committee. So I think this answer is quite fulfilling and I am really surprised that nothing has been heard about it at the college yet, because professor Vajda also took part at the meeting of the Attila József Circle yesterday, among others, and several college students were there. (Applause.)

Tibor Kasza: I want to speak! We thank you, comrade Baróti for closing this case.

Someone: I do not know but I was interested in the problem and we have to state that Szegedi Egyetem has been brought down to the level of a country gutter-paper. It cannot perform its mission and it will not be able to do it even in the future if AHUCS does not stand up and withdraw the right of going on like that. We demand that Lajos Kiss resign. We demand the removal of the Székely dynasty, their removal from political functions, we claim that Szegedi Egyetem should be passed to the hands of AHUCS and eventually I suggest that the general assembly of AHUCS should appoint the new editor. (Tremendous applause.)

Pál Bóday: Honoured assembly! I would like to add something to the Vajda affair shortly that the widest range of gossips has been thrown up lately concerning this case and we did not get a clear picture about how this case could come into being at all, under what circumstances and what was the driving force which put the matter in motion. We were all glad to hear comrade Chancellor Baróti that László Vajda was finally rehabilitated and yesterday he informed the gathering of intellectuals that he was going to get a department. But I do not find this statement correct, that comrade Chancellor Baróti [...]. That was correct but I do not find it correct that the Chancellor of the university, in front of the students, who had not heard an honest statement... because they had not heard honest

statements for years, he says the university has nothing to do with the Vajda case at all.

Baróti: I did not say that.

Bóday: You said he had no say in the matter. You said that, excuse me. That is true. But did the university have no say in the removal of Vajda from the college department at all? So this is my question after citing improperly, that is why I took the floor. Did the university have no voice in the removal of Vajda? It did have, as I know. It did have as I know and if we do not tell the truth, it does not matter who it is, we lie to the students. Then going away is the best we can do because things are still on the same way as they were. Sorry... (Massive applause.) Then there is no Petőfi Circle, no Attila József Circle, no AHUCS, nothing is worth if we do not make a clean breast of these things honestly and in a sincere way. Do not take the fashionable, regular habit of demagoguery. Take it as a sincere contribution and a sincere indignation because comrade Chancellor Baróti said he had and has nothing to do with the Vajda affair... (Interruptions: 'He did not say that!')

Baróty: Probably you find it natural that I do not fit the irregular voice of this non-academic contribution compared to the seriousness of this gathering. I said professor Halász, Koltay and I did not send a petition to the ministry that we were going to resign if Vajda would be restored or something like that. Furthermore, we could not do that because reappointing someone to a college department is not the task of the university. This is not the aim of the assembly, but indeed, make a clean breast of this matter! I did not say at all that certain university teachers, including me, had no role in the Vajda-Vajtai affair. I did not say that, did I? I said we are not concerned in the matter of appointing someone to a college department. Yesterday, after the chancellor's meeting, I made a statement in the name of comrade secretary Gyurkó. Let us say, I did a favour when I undertook this action. But let us see the Vajda-Vajtai affair. Comrade Ladányi made a remark on a party

meeting in connection with the declarations of March, that it was a right-wing deviation to publish the article of comrade Vajtai and it was an anti-Marxist article. And then he asked the literary history department of the university to organise a public debate in the room of the Knowledge Propagating Society. The public debate started with the lecture of comrade Halász. Later comrade Vajda admitted to comrade Földi that the lecture of comrade Halász had remained within the boundaries of possible scientific discussions. I only added a few sentences to the question and I still shoulder that I disagree with the items of the article I commented. It cannot be doubted that after that a massive tide of abuse was let loose against Vajda and Vajtai but who were at present and can talk about it without letting emotions out, can prove it that neither Halász nor I reviled Vajtai. If I made a mistake, then it was that I did not stand more firmly by the article under the given circumstances. So it would have been much more difficult for me as I still disagree with several items of the article. On the contrary, I immediately expressed my opinion and I told it to comrade Vajtai, too, that I am against any kind of so-called administrative measures in connection with the Vajda-Vajtai article and comrade Vajtai remained in the college as an assistant professor. After a long debate, a long conversation the Ministry of Education finally suspended comrade Vajda. When the suspension of comrade Vajda was at stake several persons from Szeged, first of all comrade Ladányi demanded that comrade Vajda, Professor Vajda should be immediately removed from Szeged to a primary school. Then I had a conversation with the secretary of that time, with Tibor Erdey-Grúz – going against the intentions of the city party committee – that the university would secure comrade Vajda a job in the library with a reader degree, which is equal to a college teacher degree and secures him the possibility of research. Until his case could be rediscussed, free from feverish points of view. And for a year I was constantly being accused of being a right-wing deviator by comrade Ladányi and his environment, and some people from Szeged tried everything to keep back Professor Vajda from getting

a decent salary and working peacefully. The case was added to the agenda in September. The Ministry of Education sent out a special committee to investigate the matter. A nationwide rehabilitation of previously removed university and college teachers is now going on. There are several concerned teachers and some of them stand on the edge of starvation while they are waiting for their cases to be cleared. It was almost natural that mainly these cases were reconsidered and not the case of Professor Vajda who could work here and got a fairly high salary. Since different rumours have appeared lately and we could hear some from comrade Bóday... I myself asked the vice-secretary, Professor Sőtér on Tuesday to clear this affair at last. And he immediately accelerated the process while I was staying in Budapest yesterday morning and he empowered me to state that the case is now coming to an end. Because I think several professors were personally insulted. Though this was not the topic of the assembly, I would like to ask you, please tell me honestly, is my answer satisfying? ('Yes!')

Perbíró: Do you want to add something to this matter?

Boy: Just a few words to remind you that we demanded the right of arranging free theoretical debates but this is now the constituent assembly of AHUCS, so let us cancel this debate and let us return to the point of this wonderful gathering. (Applause.)

Perbíró: I wanted to come up with the same suggestion because we turned away from the programme of the general assembly. I think we got to the sphere of personalities erroneously. Fodor academician has the right to speak.

Fodor: I do not want to continue this debate rather to give you a satisfying answer in connection with the excluded Russian major student, Vajnai, whose name was mentioned. I would like to tell you here, in front of a large publicity that the university party committee has established a rehabilitation committee. I am the president of it. This committee is working and we have already taken up positive positions in several cases, for example in the Vajda case as fast as we

could. We have also taken up a positive position in the case of student Vajnai and I can reassure everybody that as we rectified as fast as we could the unfair offences of Péter and Vajda and several others or we suggested remedy for their cases, the same will happen in the further cases. Partly officially, without any kind of appeal and partly on the basis of an appeal. (Applause.)

Perbíró: Dear friends! I ask you whether you accept the previously presented programme in general? (Interruption: 'Yes!') Please raise your hands! Then you can contribute. Do you accept it in general? Please raise your hands. Countervotes, please! There are not any so I declare it was accepted by the general assembly. Now let us see the details. First of all I give the right... (Large noise.) Not as the rules and regulations, you can comment details. First of all József Veres can take the floor.

Veres: Dear friends, I would like to tell you something about a problem concerning the faculties and all of us, touching section c of the 5th point of the programme plan. The point is: 'the education of Marxism should be freed from dogmatism, the graduation should be: meets demands or does not meet demands'. This is a burning problem. I do not want to talk about a faculty problem but it can be added to our question. There is no philosophy lesson in the 5th grade at the faculty of medicine. The political economy studies were divided into four semesters. In the last two years we finished the given material of political economy. We would like to demand in the name of the 4th grade that philosophy lectures should be reduced to facultative subject! ('Yes!')

Perbíró: If you accept this proposal, please raise your hands! Countervotes! There are not any then I suggest that it should be added to the programme points. The next speaker is György Jobba, medicine student.

Jobba: Just a few words. Honoured assembly! Let us talk about the parallel operation of AWY and AHUCS. We should not forget what

was published in the today edition of Szabad Ifjúság. I was astonished when I read that Szabad Ifjúság questioned... the movement of the youth of Szeged. Let me quote it: 'Will the most educated, most literate and currently most militant part of Hungarian youth, the university students stay away from the fight for renewal, will they choose an own path, will the university youth of Szeged reach its goal, its honest goal?' So if we talk about the co-operation of AHUCS and AWY, we can not expect such a voice from AWY?

[End of tape.]

'It was never, never the Me that was pushed to the foreground, but always the Us'

Where the revolution began

An interview with Tamás Kiss

– As an introduction, please talk a little bit about your childhood.

– One could get used to writing curriculum vitae in the last fifty years, unfortunately it had to be practised lots of times during the fifties. I was born in 1934 in Balatonederics, Transdanubia. It is a small village. Both of my parents were teachers, the whole teaching-staff consisted of the two of them. So I got through World War II as a teacher child. In 1945 I was admitted to the high school of Premonstrant monks in Keszthely. My father was a prisoner of war and was carried to the Soviet Union, my mother, me and my brother, who was eight years younger than I, stayed at home. My father came home at the end of 1948, but my poor mother died in 1952. I could not say we were starving but we had a really modest way of life. I graduated from high school in 1953, 'outstanding of maturity', I wanted to be an electrical engineer. But it was difficult to get in with an intellectual family background. I did not succeed, of course. So I spent the summer of 1953 at home, then I went to Budapest during the autumn and started to work in the Iron and Steelworks of Csepel as a sprayer, a semi-skilled worker. I stayed there for a year and got a decent salary but it was a damned hard job. Next year I tried to gain admission to the university again but I was rejected. I wrote an appeal. One had to go personally to the Ministry of Education with the appeal. Approximately 600 people stood there and then we were told that those who had finished high school with an outstanding certificate could stay, the rest had to go. So about 50 of us stayed there and I was told they would let me go to Szeged to the Faculty of Natural Sciences. So that is how I got to Szeged, on the line of mathematics and physics studies, which I did not really want in spite

of my mechanical interests. I did not get famous by taking the exams but I managed to finish the first and second semester, then I got acquainted with some law students. At the beginning of my second year, I visited the dean of the Faculty of Law and told him I wanted to get transferred to the Faculty of Law. We had a twenty-minute long conversation and eventually he told me: 'See you tomorrow morning.' Well, that is my story of becoming a law student. That was 1955. I got outstanding marks as a freshman. But I have to confess that the legal professions of that time, judge, prosecutor, did not even occur to me. I had two good friends, with whom I spent all of my time. One of them turned out to be a dean later, the other an academician and I also would have chosen a similar direction towards the sphere of science and not the practical fields of the legal profession. But then came the autumn of 1956, the date which changed my life entirely.

– Did any kind of political idea have an effect on the way of your thinking?

– I do not think it was a political idea, rather a kind of emotional affection, a series of adventures I previously mentioned: that I could not gain an admission to the university despite my outstanding high school certificate because my father and my mother were teachers, namely intellectuals. I saw that the so-called possessors of power, the workers and peasants may have lived in bigger poverty, under a tighter suppression. And it is not poverty, since after the war it was almost natural, the poor conditions of living. But how much they were terrorized! Ringer-freak – you may have heard about it. I saw it when SPA [State Protection Authority] officials grilled my father at night because of some political debate circle. Nothing more, so they did not do anything. But it was a conspiracy. Fortunately, he got away with it, his name was mentioned but he was not in focus. One could hear rumours about which no one talked, rather kept them. It determined a certain attitude that changes were necessary but a push from the outside was needed. One could know the barriers are so hard, so tough that if I do not want to get my head cracked, do not want to be imprisoned, then I shut my mouth.

– Did the students have any kind of autonomy or a representing organisation initiated by them, or AHUCS was a completely spontaneous movement?

– The university students had no autonomous organisation, there was only, exclusively AWY from 1948 as a youth alliance and it was mandatory for everybody. The life within AWY was that the AWY secretary said a platitude or read a brochure up or something from Szabad Nép every month.

– Could you feel any kind of stirring among the students and teachers when you went back to Szeged on the autumn of 1956?

– There was a kind of effervescence. A year earlier it would never have happened that students had a conversation in a corner or in a room of a Youth Hostel and talked about political matters. It was a taboo. Nobody dared to risk it, to express an own opinion. You could definitely feel in September 1956 that a change was going on. Something was going to happen, something was happening around us. You could feel it very well. The fermentation had started.

– Let us turn back to the events of October, after the enlisting. The first spontaneous gathering was on 16 October. What were the direct preliminaries?

– I have already mentioned that when we came back to Szeged, the atmosphere infected us. András Lejtényi showed me a typed sheet of paper around 10 October, one of his friends had sent it in a letter from Budapest, that's what he said. They demanded the facultative education of Russian language and said that if their wish was not going to be fulfilled, they would not attend the lessons. This sheet was passed from hand to hand secretly: 'Look what I got, read it!' But I stress it again, these were only small groups of two people. I showed it to my best friend, but I did not hang it on the wall. That was the atmosphere. Then, talking with András Lejtényi about the appeal, about the boycott of Russian language, it dawned on us: 'Hey man, there is not only Russian language, there is martial education, there

is...' So I stress it again, first these welfare, social problems came, like the recent student problems, no takeover, no organisation, nothing like that. It depends on the individual character of a person what kind of solution he/she looks for.

With our idea of establishing an organisation we went to Imre Tóth, who was a second year student, then we visited János Aszalós. The next three or four days passed by telling it to five or six people but the idea of creating an organisation, demanding this, demanding that spreaded like an avalanche. One of the birthplaces of the idea was the student club on 14 and 15 of October on the left of the central building. We spent the days there. We had lunch there at noon and the rooms were opened together throughout the afternoon. We could have a chat there but there was not a bar, we could not buy alcohol. So this student club turned out to be our headquarters. The first meeting was on 16 October. My would-be mates in accusation, Imre Tóth, Dezső Göncöl etc. and I do not recall as an event organised by us. I tell you later why. There are some who state (now, thirty years later) that they were the organizers they made the note 'Student general assembly will be held in Aud. Max.'. As I know and even the testimonies made in 1957 and 1958 prove it that the university AWY committee and party committee of that time remained silent because... and here I have to stop for a while.

There were two or three rats at every faculty. The university AWY and party committees were informed about everything within thirty minutes. So it was not a secret at all that the Faculties of Law and Arts are preparing. We had friends from the Faculty of Arts who turned up regularly in the student club. The Faculty of Medicine was the other side at that time, we did not get on well with each other. So the students of these two faculties scattered the news. Then the comrades decided to set up a meeting for the students, where they wanted to explain the political situation. It was a typical trick. Somebody stands up and begins to speak. Here I have to jump over a few days in the story. We held the second general assembly on 20 October and as a reaction, the ministry ordered every university to fix up gatherings

where the party and AWY leaders of these universities had to explain the political situation to the students. So these meetings of 22nd of October (Monday) in Gödöllő, Sopron, Debrecen and in the other cities of the countryside and at the University of Technology were initiated by them. They set them up, they stood on the podium: AWY secretaries, the party secretary, the Chancellor etc. and cut short every contradiction. That is another story that later students started to take the floor and the plan coagulated into the well-known series of events.

So, going back in time, I am sure the meeting was announced by the AWY committee and what is more, the AWY leaders came to see us in the morning of 16 October. They wanted to talk to us: 'Do it within the framework of AWY! Tell us, what do you want?' They tried to take the wind out of our sails. And then we did not answer but left them alone. Good, there will be a general assembly, we will go there and see what they want to talk about. Imre Tóth and I remembered the same: when we went into the hall, it was full and nobody sat on the podium. The order was that the leaders took their seats there. Then we went up there and said 'Mates, tell us your ideas', and we started to unfold our initiative of establishing a student organisation, what kind of structure we had imagined, how it should be created. We sketched it and told what we would demand beyond the facultative education of Russian language, in connection with the syllabus, the living standard of students etc. Later it was uncovered that the AWY leaders had already been there when we arrived but did not come out. They were frightened. I do not know why, they should be asked because they have not said anything about it yet. The 16th, this was the first time when we told our opinion not only to a small group of people, not only to our friends. I conducted the assembly, I gave the right of speaking to everyone. You are next, then you... During those three hours (but I do not know exactly how long it was) the tension of the meeting rose from 25-30% to 99-100%. We did not argue about the character of the organisation. O.K., we will formulate the rules and regulations etc. I think the moment they accepted the establishment of AHUCS, we announced the date of the next assembly: 20 October. Then we would

state what we wanted point by point and what is more, we came to an agreement there that everybody would go back to their faculty after the end of the meeting and would set up a gathering at the faculty to elect three members into the so-called leading board! We were not elected by anybody, not by God either, we just simply went up to the podium. After the balloting of the leading board members, the committee of 18 would come into being, they could formulate the rules and regulations on 18 and 19 October for the upcoming general assembly.

But let me have a look at the first meeting again... Suddenly someone stood up and said that as things went we should have demanded this and that... And then came politics. The next speaker added another demand. I cannot recall their names but one, Tivadar Putnik from the Faculty of Arts, who had been rehabilitated and could reenter the university that autumn. As he was from Yugoslavia he may have been sentenced at the end of the 40s. He was 4 or 5 years older than us. He had a tough contribution, for example, he demanded the withdrawal of the Soviet troops. You can understand that he was a suitable person to claim these demands emotionally. And then, I remember clearly, I waved him down, I closed the constituent assembly of AHUCS and said, 'now this is a political mass meeting, say what you want!' I did so because a moment earlier it came into my mind that we were going to be in such a trouble we would not get away with! And I thought that if I had been a conducting president of that – I had not even realised the danger an hour earlier – I would be considered responsible. But if it was a mass meeting that was another matter. I, as a law student, considered it as serious to be a passive participant and not a conductor, leader, organiser. So we turned into a mass meeting and there came the more and more daring demands. At the end we declared that the leaders should be elected and we would meet again in the student club on 19 October. This was a noisy evening, no need to mention. Although only a few of us stayed together (Lejtényi, Gönczöl, Imre Tóth, some others and me) and went to a youth hostel. We formulated an appeal titled 'Join us!' to

every student of the country on a small typewriter. Then we declared that we had established AHUCS in Szeged. Everybody in the country can join! This appeal got to other student friends by mail. I do not know exactly who received it, but four days later we got several greetings.

– Did the leaders of the university and AWY want to see you between the 16 and 20 October?

– As it turned out later (and we knew nothing about it, of course) they had squeakers everywhere, a whole network. By the end of the day of 16th, the party committee had already been informed. There is a big trouble here, comrades, the university youth has revolted, they demand the withdrawal of the Soviet troops, they demand elections, the abandonment of Rákosi and his mates and they also have educational claims! Something must be done! Then the AWY committee was ordered to keep a session and now it seems to me they did not feel strong enough to simply break us down, they rather said: Right, let us find those ten students, they at least must be fired and may be sentenced for incitement and get a two-year imprisonment! They were not strong enough. So they appointed the university AWY committee to get in touch with the leaders and try to persuade them to stay within AWY and then AWY would overtake these problems. They would have overtaken those they could have. It is obvious that those radical demands we – and I have to stress the we because not I or he or she found them out but we – had formulated would not be accepted by them. And on the 17th of October, as I can remember we held the faculty assemblies. I can talk only about the Law Faculty events. Perbíró let us hold a law faculty assembly. We did not ask permission for the 16th, as that one wasn't organised by us. And what is more, the news of that assembly reached Pest and got to the Secretary of Education of that time, to Albert Kónya and he came down on the 17th of October to Szeged to see what was going on. He visited the Faculty of Law because he had been told that first of all we, law students had bustled and not the Faculty of Medicine,

Pharmacology and Natural Sciences. We were very surprised when Kónya did not say that we were, all of us were fired, he said: 'Boys and girls, forget this silly thing.' He said he agreed with the claims concerning the study demands and he did not even mention he did not agree with a new organisation, with the establishment of a new university organisation. Certainly, we did not start with 'Dear secretary, and what about the withdrawal of the Soviet troops?' We did not say that. So Kónya did not forbid anything, that is why the university leaders, the vice-dean, the Chancellor did not forbid it, however, they started to promote us. The assembly of the Faculty of Law, the 400-500 students balloted three law students into the committee of 18: Imre Tóth, Attila Fodor and me. András Lejtényi, who came up with the idea the previous day was not elected into this committee. András was not an easy character, he gave the cold shoulder a bit who he did not like, he was not that kind of favourite of the public. I liked him very much, he was a really good friend of mine, but those who did not know him properly could reject him. So he was not elected and everybody accepted it that he was no more an official member of the committee of 18. Yet, he went on working with us. That was a real evidence of the democratic character of the movement: that one of its initiators was not elected. Because they did not really like him! I was elected because I was somehow more appealing. And Imre Tóth too. But Attila did nothing. He was there but then he actually did not play a role in it.

We had a meeting in the student club the next day. We informed each other who had been elected from the Faculty of Natural Sciences, of Arts, of Medicine, of Pharmacology and from the College of Pedagogical Studies. Then the leaders of AWY sent us a message, in which they offered a meeting and negotiations. They had an office somewhere near the student club, and the AWY leaders were sitting there around a long table and we sat down at the other end of it, may be a dozen out of the 18. Formally, we had not come into being yet, it could not happen without a permission but we considered it to be established and that was enough. We actually spent two days with

arguing about staying within AWY and not setting up an own organisation because we were still all AWY members and what is more, there were several AWY group leaders among us, though they were not upper leaders. So they advised us to stay within AWY and demand those rights within its framework. But the decisive majority of the committee of 18 and basically me, András and Tóth as well, said we had nothing to do with AWY, we were fed up with them, they had lied to us, they had fooled us too many times! We do it alone. Beyond this two-day meeting, the committee of 18 (and Lejtényi) formulated the plan of the rules and regulations and we talked every item over. It was very important that the ideas heard on 16 October were summarised into about 20 points. We also found out that we should invite Imre Nagy. He was the Big Man of the period, the name on the flag. Two deputies, Imre Tóth and another person travelled to Budapest. They went to Őrsi Street but they could only talk with his wife. She said he was not at home and advised them to come back the following day and she added that probably he could not accept the invitation. They could not meet Imre Nagy the following day either. As I see it now, he would not have undertaken a speech at the general assembly because it is well known now that they hardly could persuade him to take part even in the events of 23rd of October. So it was characteristic that we would have liked to hear Imre Nagy.

Two other aspects had to be taken into consideration. The first was that study demands possibly had to include all students. We tried to keep the general claims from the mass of ideas. We decided to keep all political demands but one, namely the withdrawal of the Soviet troops. It was mentioned on 16th of October and we said we took the responsibility for not putting it forward. Then we would see what would happen. We decided that Dezső Gönczöl would tell the introductory speech. We asked Professor Perbíró to be the conducting president.

And during these two days many of my friends warned me: 'You are going to get in big trouble, you will be canned!' I said to myself: if I had started to do this, if I had started to toll the bell, I had to go on,

no doubt about it! I turned to be a bit fatalist I let things happen. To understand why I became a kind of fatalist then, I tell you that I went to the dean and told him, 'Please come to our general assembly on the 20th of October, sir, and conduct it as a president!' And he did not send me the hell out of there, but said, 'Boys, that is a great honour, I will certainly be there!' Then we invited the Chancellor and he said, 'Certainly I will be there!' Excuse me, if they, the dean and the Chancellor reassert me that I am on the right way and do not warn me to quit, then I would go on even if there was a hint at the back of my mind that something would go wrong. After two days of debate, we could not come to an agreement and I have to add that even Róbert Bohó, the deputy of Petőfi Circle came down from Budapest and we said to him as well, 'Robi, this is impossible, we will have nothing in common'. He answered at least we had to come to Budapest and have negotiations with Gábor Tánczos and his mates. We accepted his proposal, we would travel there after the general assembly. So we were willing to negotiate but not to surrender. We were waiting for the general assembly of 20th of October.

– What is the explanation to the attitude of the university leaders? Would they have had a completely different reaction a year earlier to the same kind of activity?

– Subsequently I think the news of the 20th Congress in the spring of 1956 generated the same kind of feelings not only in Szeged, but also in the villages, in the whole country, people were expecting something. They felt something had to happen. Those who were old enough to have proper political experience were decent and honest and saw it was really the will of the masses, the nation and simple people. It was not the dirty business of three people; they could not do else but identify themselves with it emotionally. It was clear they thought it was good if something was to be changed. Certainly, they did not think they would go and destroy the city or resort to arms and go against the Russian tanks, nothing like that. They agreed with us and somehow backed up our movement.

– Then came the day of the general assembly...

– On the day of 20th of October the hall was full, of course, the mass could hardly get in, there were people everywhere, in the windowpanes, in the doors, on the stairs... Délmagyarország had already published a short declaration, perhaps on the 18th of October, just really modestly. But the Hungarian Radio was there to make a report. That is O.K., do it! The Auditorium Maximum was completely full. The corridor was full and people were standing even in front of the building and the guys amplified the speakers' voice. A witness told me later that when we had been chewing a point of the rules and regulations for one and a half hour, the people outside started to get fed up with it because they were waiting for the demands to be announced. So the crowd was not really interested in the organisation and the rules and regulations but 'When do we hear it from someone loudly?' They were waiting for demands.

At the beginning of the general assembly, Perbíró opened it and said his greetings. Lots of teachers were there, the chancellor, the dean, professors. They sat in the first rows. Lejtényi, Gönczöl and I sat on the podium. And then began the two-hour long debate over the rules and regulations, we had to vote point by point and at the end the whole pack again – certainly it had to be a clear, lawful work. In the meantime it turned out there were some delegates in the crowd from other towns, maybe two, and we received greeting telegrams and we read them up. (Probably our appeal written on 17 October and delivered on the same day arrived in time and we got the answer two days later. That was a quick return, especially those days; it would be quick even today,. And it gave new momentum to us.) And then I read the demands.

The study demands were not so significant. Nobody added anything to them. But then the political claims! As the previously formulated points became more and more radical, the applause and invigoration of the crowd became more and more massive as well. They clapped their hands when heard, 'Imre Nagy and György Lukács should be elected into the Central Leading Board.' When we

demanding free, democratic elections, they exploded. As I said the committee of 18 previously had decided not to include the withdrawal of the Soviet troops.

I finished the points. Then what happened? Perhaps the first contributor came up with the idea of 15th of March, with the restoration of its national feast status. We had forgotten to mention it, that is the truth, I personally felt sorry about it. The next speaker started solidly, 'I am György Halász, medical student, fourth grade, I think there are tens of thousands of Soviet people who live here, they should be sent home...' Another explosion! Then the conducting president, Professor Perbíró (he was a decent man, I liked and honoured him very much) realised, that was the point when it was out of hand. The power would swallow some demands which had no chance to be realised but the withdrawal of Soviet troops, of Soviet comrades? That meant revolution! So Professor Perbíró tried to calm the assembly down and said that provocative demands should not be promoted because these demands would sink the ship of the alliance. But the crowd could not be calmed down. And at the end we did not leave it out. We thought it happened, 'Darn it, it will be included.'

The next edition of *Délmagyarország*, in which our claims were published, left this demand out. They published the points and the 15th of March. On 21 October we sent envoys to Debrecen, Miskolc and Pécs with the rules and regulations and the demands and the withdrawal of the Soviet troops was included. It is understandable why the journalist of *Délmagyarország* did not dare to write down the withdrawal of the Soviet troops on 21 October 1956.

Despite all warnings, the demand of the withdrawal was included and after the general assembly, we went up into the room of the chancellor. He said he would secure the vital technical background needed for the operation. We came to an agreement there that Abrudbányi and Ács would go to Pécs and others to Miskolc, Debrecen and perhaps to Veszprém and Lejtényi and I would go to Budapest. It was possible because the envoy of the Petőfi Circle had persuaded us to have a conversation with the leaders of the Petőfi

Circle. And he said then he would carry us to Budapest. So during the night of 20th of October we went to Budapest with the car of the Circle and they placed us in the Youth Hostel of the University of Economics to take a rest before meeting them.

I have already mentioned that beyond the appeals we sent delegates to every university centre on 21 October, including me. We carried the rules and regulations and the points of demands and as a result of the events of Szeged, the ministry ordered the party and AWY committees in every university centre to hold student meetings where they had to 'enlight' the students concerning the given political situation. So these meetings started in the presence of either our delegates or our appeals and documents and revealed facts prove it that all of these officially fixed up meetings turned into an AHUCS assembly within thirty minutes. Sopron, Pécs and the University of Technology joined us and established their own AHUCS bodies. This meant voting, they seceded from AWY and joined AHUCS. They elected their leaders by public acclamation and what is even more important, they formulated nearly the same political demands in Sopron, Pécs, Veszprém etc. on 22 October as we did two days earlier. There were only some slight differences and paraphrasing.

On 21 October we met Gábor Tánczos, András Hegedűs B. and some other leaders of the Petőfi Circle. They immediately advised us to quit and let these problems be solved within the framework of AWY. We answered (Lejtényi and me) that it could not happen, we did not want it and we had no right to make decisions in that matter. So we evaded it and it was interesting that by the end of the meeting Gábor Tánczos may have admitted that we may have been right. It was clear that Petőfi Circle did not even think about changing of the social system, they just wanted to repair it as an intellectual wing of the party. Our demands were much more radical, they meant a complete turn. They could only answer that we may have been right. On the other hand, we did not even have to seek where to go because the news of the delegates of Szeged reached the people and several people visited us from different faculties and invited us to different meetings

and asked us to tell our story, what had happened in Szeged. We visited the University of Economics, the University of Agriculture in Gödöllő and the University of Technology, we were at the famous assembly of 22 October.

This last assembly was typical. Six-seven unknown university students kind of 'kidnapped' us and we went to the University of Technology by tram. It was already in the evening: we went through dark corridors and we entered the great hall from the back. The assembly had already begun. One of the students simply stepped to the microphone, 'He is the delegate from Szeged, let him take the floor!' The authority answered, 'No, he cannot, there is no need for his speech!' 'No, let us hear him, come on, come on'... I was a bit confused by the unknown environment and I told them what we had done in Szeged, I talked about the organisation and read up the demands. That is why we were there. I cannot recall this event in details because after my arrest I tried to forget those things which I supposed the authority was not aware of. They did not know about this event because I was not even introduced. The guys did not know me either. The fellow student from Szeged could have been anybody. So I tried to conceal that I took the floor at several assemblies, but after the change of regime, when some old revolutionists came together, they told me they remembered me, I had stood beside a column. I swear I cannot remember.

Until then the party and the AWY secretary let off hot air and the audience got more and more anxious hearing the loads of stupidity. We just gave way to the flood, I mean we just dug a hole in the dam and the tide washed it away. Our speeches definitely had a heating effect at these university meetings. As far as I know, the same happened in Pécs. There was a periodical, *Hétfői Hírlap*. It came out on every Monday. The editor of the journal visited our general assembly on 20 October and wrote a really evocative, stirring article. He did not demand the withdrawal of the Soviet troops but exactly reflected the atmosphere. It was surely read at every university because the university youth of that time was really keen on reading

newspapers. That was another reason why all universities chose the way of secession from AWY on 22 October and undertook the political demands as well. What is more, the political demands came to the front by then and the study claims got less and less emphasis.

On 22nd and 23rd of October Lejtényi and I were invited to the Central Committee of AWY. As it turned out, the secretary of the Central Committee was in Szeged on 20 October, but in secret. They were trying to persuade us. They asked us to approve of organising university elections again, this time secret elections. No nominations by the AWY or the party committees. And the elected deputies would come together in Budapest and would make a decision about the future direction. We answered that would be a passable way because if the deputies were not appointed but elected to the meeting in Budapest it would secure the realisation of our expectations. The intention was to direct the movement towards a more legal path. It can be felt it was more like a arousal, according to the present principles.

The students of the universities joined us unanimously. It was a kind of public will: yes, we all want it. The name of the new organisation, AHUCS, definitely had an impact as a slogan. After eight years it was the first youth organisation established not by the power (AWY, Petőfi Circle and Attila József Circle were all their creations) but a spontaneous thing coming from under, it was our idea and achievement.

Then it was 23 October. We were still in Budapest and I gave Imre Tóth a call, I invited him to Budapest because the two of us could not cope with the invitations, everybody wanted to hear the guys from Szeged. We agreed that we would meet that day and later we did. When we heard about the demonstration, we went there but then Lejtényi and I were alone. We hardly knew anybody in Budapest. Attention turned away from us towards the demonstration. The name of AHUCS disappeared from the flags. We were a little bit lucky because Petőfi Circle tried to moderate the atmosphere again and they came on a truck with speakers on it and they offered slogans: 'Warsaw', 'Polish friendship', 'Democracy', 'Imre Nagy back to

leadership', and they avoided the demand of the withdrawal of the Soviet troops. We noticed András Hegedűs B. on the truck who we met the previous day. We got on the truck and went to the demonstration with the truck for a while. Maybe that is why one of the AWY leaders university from Szeged could testify, during the investigations in 1957, that it was Tamás Kiss who screwed up the crowd with slogans on that demonstration. Certainly, I was far from it...

We took part in the demonstration, we went to Bem Square, Kossuth Square, to the Radio. We could not reach the gate, we got stuck in Múzeum-garden in the crowd at about eight or nine p.m. while things had already got loose: firing, tanks, overturned trams. The crowd stayed together until around midnight. I was only with Imre Tóth, we somehow lost Lejtényi by then. I went to the meeting point that Imre Tóth had told me on the phone previously. So I left Lejtényi alone at about eight p.m. In the meantime I lost András Lejtényi and I have never ever seen him again. He is said to have come back to Szeged once more but we did not meet then. So I stayed in the company of Imre Tóth. During the night, we went back to the dormitory we were staying at. Some days passed there, we could not get back to Szeged. In the meantime, university they started to set up the University National Guard. We became the members of the National Guard and got guns.

Another two or three days passed. Then we decided to go back to Szeged, we felt we had nothing to do in Budapest. We went to Baja on a truck, then to Szeged. We joined the National Guard again, Imre Tóth and me. We stayed at the barracks of Öthalom. Previously it had belonged to the SPA but they had already disappeared so we only had to defend it from thefts, there were guns and packs left there. It could happen because Professor József Perbíró, who had been elected the president of Revolution Committee in Szeged on 26th of October, asked his colleague, Barna Lazúr, who was a lecturer at the Department of Military Studies as a lieutenant, to be the commander of the National Guard. Barna Lazúr found it natural to set up a university battalion from volunteers (beyond the worker, intellectual

and citizen members): if you want to join the National Guard, come here, you get an identity card, a automatic rifle, ammunition and a job to do. But if you have a duty, you must do what your commander tells you. They did it so. As I can remember, 150-200 students joined the battalion and a small unit – including me – was sent to Öthalom. About twenty guys. We stayed there until the fourth or fifth of November.

– *What was your duty?*

– The National Guard was set up to maintain order. We did not get involved in the armed combat because when it was officially confirmed that the Russian troops had attacked Budapest, Barna Lazúr ordered every guard unit to surrender.

– *How did you surrender?*

– There were huge concrete rings in Marx Square because of a construction. When I and Imre Tóth came back to the city centre in the middle of the night, we put the guns into these concrete rings. Imre had a machine gun and I had the automatic rifle. I remember very well, because the police officers troubled me with this so much that it got into my mind for ever. I have no idea what happened to the guns.

– *When was the surrender?*

– On 5 November. But I did not count the days. I think it was around dawn on 5 November. Budapest was attacked on the fourth, they came to Szeged during the night of the fifth. So during the afternoon of the fourth Lazúr sent everybody home and we left the barracks during the night. Everybody took care of their guns somehow. Some of us hid it well, we did not.

– *Then events took a turn again and accelerated. How did you feel after 5 November? The life at the university was far from starting again...*

– There was a school break, most of the university students travelled home, they did not even come back on 4 November. I had no intention of going home, partly because Balatonederics was a bit far

from Szeged and partly because I played a role in the events until the end, but very few people stayed there, maybe ten percent of the students.

After 4 November, apathy settled on us for about two weeks. Baróti secured a place somewhere for us to run the office of AHUCS. So we had a small room we called AHUCS office, a table, some chairs and perhaps a telephone. We got together there every day, we did not scatter. But there was no point in it. What would be next? We just hung around. Then the idea of making flysheets as a form of political opposition cropped up. But I was the ringleader, I just helped to make them. We dispensed and scattered the flysheets. I do not know how many we made between the middle of November the middle of December; the police were better informed. We made about 30-40 kinds of flysheets and several hundred copies of each kind against Kádár and his company. Definitely against them, but without any kind of result. Then it was Christmas. O.K. guys, let us go home! Education was still broken. I went home around 20 December.

Sometime around the middle of January I got news about the restart of university education. I came back to Szeged. I stayed in my sublet and in Eötvös Youth Hostel. During the previous fall, Eötvös Youth Hostel had come into being, where the best students could get in. I was one from the Faculty of Law. But that only meant I lived there. So I stayed at Eötvös Youth Hostel for a while, then – as it is said – it started to get too hot for me, arrests began. My landlady was waiting for me when I went out to my sublet and said, 'Tamás, for God's sake, eight or ten paramilitary men [men in quilted jackets] were here last night and they rummaged your room, they wanted to arrest you!' I caught a train and left Szeged. I hid in different places in Transdanubia. First I decided to leave the country, but I turned back near from the border. My emotions defeated me. I think I made the right decision. I stayed at relatives, acquaintances. A long time passed until the end of April, full of insecurity whether events would turn. I got a message as well. Surely, it was all planned, it came from the university to the address of my parents and it was about a disciplinary

trial. Then I came back to Szeged on 28 April. I entered the Faculty of Law the next day, around 9 a.m. I had a chat with some people there and it turned out there would be no disciplinary procedure. As I left the building, two detectives, about six-eight meters from the horseman statue, approached me and asked, 'Are you Tamás Kiss?' I said, 'Yes.' 'Then follow us unobtrusively!' They declared I was under arrest. Later it turned out, I had been wanted for several months when they caught me. They were waiting for me to turn up in Szeged. As I mentioned earlier, there were squeakers everywhere, they were informed immediately, here is Tamás Kiss, that is him, you can catch him now! Otherwise they could not have caught me, they did not know my face, my outlook. So they arrested me and my eight-month long detention on remand began. I was questioned for hours on every or every second day, 'What have you committed against our socialism?' Our trial began at Csongrád County Court in January 1958. Besides me, Imre Tóth, law student, and Dezső Gönczöl, college student, were accused of establishing and organising AHUCS. András Lejtényi had disappeared, he had left the country.

The other students in my case, called Tamás Kiss and his mates-case, were found guilty in dispensing flysheets and hiding guns. The trial took a month, the sentences were tough: ten, eight, six years. We did not find them so serious. Somehow we got a clear picture about the sentences in the prison... one could get five years for such pitiful actions as writing flysheets! So we felt relieved when the judge declared the sentence of foreseeable duration. Then we entered the jail of Szeged, Csillag and later we were in Vác. Under the appellation in 1959, our sentences were reduced to five years – it was strange that a wave of ease rushed through the country in that year.

– *What was the original judgement?*

– Eight years. Imre Tóth, whose case was called 'violating state secrets', got ten years which was later reduced to six. One year more than I got.

– *What did 'violating state secrets' mean?*

– It meant that a friend of Imre, a student of the University of Technology, had joined the national guard in Budapest, watched a SPA building similar to the one here in Szeged. He found a book there or something, a list of squeakers, a whole network. Was it an existing network or not, it never turned out because probably it consisted of fake identities. But he took the list, brought it down to Szeged and showed it to Imre, they tried to identify them. They had only hints. This was in December. They really called the attention of the police on themselves so they were arrested pretty soon, in February. That is why he got more years... An amnesty was announced and I left the prison of Vác after spending three years and some month in prison from the five-year sentence.

– *When did you get out of jail exactly?*

– 1st of April, 1960.

– *And what could you do then?*

– That is another story, a somewhat softer one. We, young guys lived under easier conditions in the jail – and there were lots of youngsters there. We had no wives, we had no children. We had parents and we felt sorry for them but we thought we could survive that period of our lives. On the other hand, there were men who had to leave their families, children and wives and nobody looked after them. Prison did not break us as hard. The detention on remand was tougher because we lived in insecurity.

It was natural that one went home after getting out of jail. After a while I went to Győr to work in the wagon factory as a crane repairing unskilled worker then I went to Budapest a year later. One tried to get more distant from home where no one knew you and a certificate of good behaviour was not necessary, there were no questions.

I worked in the machine-tool factory in Budapest. In the meantime, I got acquainted with my wife who lived in Balassagyarmat so I moved there. I continued to do unskilled labour for two more years while I was attending the school of economics. I finished as a skilled bookkeeper, designer and statistician. I got a job at a small company

as a bookkeeper; I spent ten years there. Then I sent in a petition in which I asked whether I could go on with my university studies. Fortunately, I was approved in 1970. I attended the correspondence course of Loránd Eötvös University. Certainly, I had to work, we had three children. I took a degree as cum laude in 1975 and started to work as a lawyer in a co-operative farm. It was clear that I could not move on or improve my position, the people of my sort were just tolerated. We started to raise our head in 1989. We held meetings, more and more of us came together. The old prison mates had had contact with each other for a long time before: it was a strange characteristic feature of the past three decades that one could keep in touch only with the old prison mates. Partly because you could only rely on them, and partly because you did not want to land anybody in a mess with your 'counter-revolutionist' status. It is true that you got the certificate of good character after 15 years, but observation went on until 1990. They knew everything, all of us were bugged and observed, who you showed up with, who were your friends, what you did. Obviously all of our prison mates decided to stay in the shadow, to remain passive politically.

In 1990, we moved a bit more. In the summer of 1990 some soulful, young citizens of Balassagyarmat asked me to undertake a position in the self-government. I tried to step back saying, 'Listen guys, I have four years left till pension.' 'But you have to play a role in it!' Then I said, 'Darn it. If an old revolutionist does not try it, all is busted!' So I was elected to be a deputy mayor and I did it with real pleasure. It was really a nice task, I really gained the respect of the public when I became a pensioner and my mandate ended in 1994. I was sixty years old then. I enjoyed the days of pension. But in 1996 I was seduced again: my friends from Budapest asked me to take a job in the office of the prime secretary. I was a chief government counsellor between 1996 and 1999. My duty was to co-ordinate the organisations of the revolutionists of 1956, and to organise celebrations. As a 'chief 1956 person' I was accepted as a man of their sort although this is a very sensitive company, full of 60-70-80-year-

old people. I had no problems and I am very proud of that. First, because the 40th anniversary passed off quite peacefully, without flying at each other's throats and second because the memorial called Flame of Revolution standing on Kossuth Square is my achievement, I gathered the money for it from the mayors of the districts and from other places. And another thing, which is less-known, that we placed a memorial stone in Snagov where Imre Nagy and his mates were imprisoned. The president of the republic also took part in the investiture and we invited the survivors of Snagov as well. It was really a kind, but hard job and last summer I decided to quit. Now I only undertake passions.

– Did they ever try to rope you in either during the prison years or the detention on remand?

– They never tried me, but many of my friends told me about such things. They withstood by saying, 'Sorry, I am an ill person.' They copped out. They tried many of us. I avoided it because I got out of sight, I guess. I intentionally did not live in Szeged or in Balatonederics for three decades. They surely would have come to me as well. Some members of the authority knew about my previous role in the revolution but it was not a widespread fact. They never tried to rope me in.

I had only one affair with the police around the end of the 70s or the beginning of the 80s. By then you could claim a western passport. So I applied for the passport. They rejected me officially on the basis of sending in unreal data. I wrote that I had never been sentenced. That was another thing, who could get passports. I thought I would not let them call me a liar and I had already been a lawyer at that time. So I wrote an appeal explaining that I was qualified to have a clean record according to the given section of the given law. Two weeks passed then suddenly a grim detective entered my office. He did not introduce himself. 'Withdraw your appeal!' 'I am sorry, but this is the law. I do not withdraw it. Am I right or not?' He left angrily after my answer. Some weeks later I got the letter from the higher forum, from

the National Central Police Station: 'I do not allow you to travel abroad because it violates the interests of the People's Republic of Hungary.' I couldn't do anything. They had the right to decide it. That was my only affair with the police in thirty years.

– What kind of memories and documents have remained about the significant participants of assemblies either on the 16th or the 20th of October?

– The first assembly remained unnoticed, there are no documents about it, but I saw somewhere a hand-written bill that 'we call you to an assembly held on 16th of October'. Nothing else. As far as the second assembly is concerned, a record of the Radio has survived. It has fairly good quality, some parts cannot be understood but both the atmosphere and the words can be caught. Though the introductory speech of Dezső Gönczöl is missing from the tape but Perbíró can already be heard. There are photos. Beyond these, there are only police and court files in the Csongrád County Archives, they consist of the testimonies of the retaliated persons and university students considered to be eyewitnesses, recorded during the process.

When I was arrested on the first or second of May 1957 and the questionings started, it was absolutely clear that they would ask me, 'what did you do from September to November?' And I could not answer that I was at home in the company of my parents. Hundreds, thousands of people knew I was there, said this, said that. Except from some hardly-known things that happened in a very small company, very few things, I did tell the story of us. I knew well then what had happened, so what Imre Tóth said to them coincided with my testimony, what Dezső Gönczöl said to them, no contradictions, black and white, every minute could be retraced, at most we could not recall names. The ones about whom we supposed the investigators did not know, I still cannot recall because then I wanted to forget them. The events of that period can be retraced minute by minute from the police and court files.

The events between 23rd of October and 4th of November should be regarded differently because the role of the students was not as

significant in them. There are no documents – or at least I do not know about their existence – about that period. It would be almost a hopeless work to uncover for example a speech of a student at a revolution committee session, or what kind of meetings were held at the universities. There are survivors who can recall these events, they can be retraced but as I see it (and I think I have the right to say that), these reminiscences must be handled with a seriously critical attitude because one can be capable of recalling what one only had heard forty years ago without being there. My companions in distress can also produce such mistakes and I myself often have had to face the same problem in the last ten years since I started doing research in the matter – to uncover old things which I cannot remember but facts must be accepted.

– What happened to the participants?

– Chancellor Baróti – partly because of promoting us and partly because of playing a role in the local events – was sentenced for a three-year imprisonment if I am right. We had a common reminiscence here because we met once in Szeged and even made a documentary. Professor József Perbíró became the leader of the revolution committee and was sentenced for life imprisonment. They let him out after five or six years, he lived in Kecskemét and got married. He led a sequestered life, took small jobs then retired early and became a pensioner. Unfortunately, he has already left us. We had a memorial session in the Auditorium Maximum in 1991 on the 35th anniversary of the constituent assembly. We invited Perbíró, Lazúr, Imre Tóth. I do not know anything about the other lecturers. Imre Tóth lives in Budapest. When he got out of jail, he worked as an unskilled worker then he was a proofreader. He did not finish the university, he is a pensioner now and has a grandchild; he is fine. Iván Abrudbányai could finish the university. He worked for a company in Budapest. He has died. Dezsó Gönczöl, the college student... he had a tough life. He was an excellent draughtsman and painter, I have two or three smaller oil paintings from him. He would have liked to prevail but he could

not after regaining his freedom. I think partly it was the reason why he died so early, about ten-fifteen years ago. László Soós could also finish his studies but he could not prevail as well. He is a pensioner. András Lejtényi was with me in Budapest and played a great role in the events, left the country and I have not found him since then, I know nothing about him. I tried to find him through some 1956 organisations operating abroad but nothing came up. Miklós Vető who was not the member of the committee of 18 but was a soulful organiser of AHUCS and a flysheet-maker, later became a lecturer on Sorbonne, Paris. May be he still teaches, I do not know. Now some words about the emigrants with whom I could get in touch. Pál Vezényi – as far as I know – lives in Switzerland and had a decent career. Later it turned out that Lóránt Czigány, an arts student, who I did not know then, who wanted to write articles and wanted to organise the press contacts of AHUCS is a well-known literary historian and wrote several books. That is all instantly. It should be researched.

– Do you regret anything? What would you do differently now that you know the past?

– I bless my fate I got the rare opportunity to play a significant role in those wonderful days in 1956. We had not only the revolution but also the ten soulful days before it. An average Hungarian citizen was happy for 12 days, from 23 October to 4 November. But we were happy from 10 of October to 4 November. A few days more. I am very happy I lived then because I think that is the way one's life can be matterful, and in spite of being physically and financially handicapped for thirty-five years, I am still happy. I would not do it differently. But I would like to add that such a historical moment will never come again or at least not in my life but maybe not in yours either. Because it happens once in a century that you can lead a crowd in action in two days and you feel everybody agrees with you, everybody is keen and follows you. The situation made it inevitable, the dictatorship of the previous ten years. And only ten years had passed since World War II, brains

were not washed as during the thirty years of the Kádár system. Everybody kept something in there what set on fire – and exploded. That was the reason why the same events happened in Budapest a week after our assembly. People just walked, no one knew who led them, there was no leader of the revolution. And you can not name a leader even today because you cannot find one. An official Prime Minister followed the events, it was very nice how he accepted our demands. Today I had a conversation with an old companion, who was a member of a worker council in Szeged, maybe in the hemp factory. As it turned out, we were born in the same year. And he got a hard, ten-year sentence and spent five years in prison. And he said the only thing he did not like when someone would say, 'I myself did it!' No. We did it! And I think you could recognise that apart from a few things I always said we. It was never, never the Me that was pushed to the foreground, but always the Us. Of course, it happened that I said something, I wrote something. But the activity was common, a common movement of the crowd. It cannot be turned back. I say it again, I am very happy I could live it. My life would not have been richer if I were a professor now, an academician as some of my grade mates really are. Because this is a valuable life. It is a more colourful life than the other would have been.

– *Thank you.*

– You are very-very welcome.

*Interviewer:
Csaba Jancsák*

The list of AHUCS members and organisers in Szeged and students taking part in the events of the revolution

name	date of birth	studies	activity, charge	sentence
Ábrahám László	1934	medicine		1 year 2 months (acquittal)
Abrudbányai Iván	1933	law		2 year 6 months
Aszalós János		Faculty of Natural Sciences	making flysheets against the Kádár government	2 years imprisonment
Ács Vilmos	1936	College of Pedagogical Studies	delegate of AHUCS in NRC (National Revolutionary Committee)	expulsion
Almási Gáborné	1933	medicine		
Ambrus János	1936	medicine		
Bakai Gyula		chemistry		university disciplinary, punishment withdrawal of scholarship
Bakondi Béla	1926	medicine	member of UNGB (University National Guard Battalion)	
Barabás István		law	violating state secrets	3 years imprisonment
Bátya András				
Berger György		law	going against the people's democracy	expulsion from all universities of the country
Borka József		College of Pedagogical Studies		expulsion
Böjte Endre		Faculty of Natural Sciences	member of the National Guard	warning
Bugyi István	1929		member of Kendi group	
Csete István	1936		organising AHUCS in the countryside	
Csonti Ferenc	1933		member of the MC (Managing Committee) of Szeged	
Dávid Benedek	1937		member of UNGB	
Deák László		medicine	member of the TFLB (Temporary Faculty Leading Board) of AHUCS member of UNGB (University National Guard Battalion)	
Deák Tibor	1935	biology	member of the MC of Szeged	reprehension

The list of AHUCS members and organisers in Szeged and students taking part in the events of the revolution

name	date of birth	studies	activity, charge	sentence
Domokos László		chemistry		strict reprehension, withdrawal of scholarship
Egyed László	1934		member of UNGB	
Eisler Róbert			organising AHUCS in the countryside	
Farkas László	1934	Faculty of Arts	telling his own poem at the constituent assembly of AHUCS	
Fazekas Sándor		medicine	member of the TFLB of AHUCS on the Faculty of Medicine	
Fedor Attila	1934	law	member of the TFLB of AHUCS on the Faculty of Law	
Fekete Etelka		Faculty of Arts	gathered money for the burial of László Schwarz	strict reprehension
Fekete Rudolf		law	member of the National Guard, did not surrender his gun	strict reprehension
Földi Vilmos		Faculty of Arts	incitement	strict reprehension
Földvári Kálmánné		College of Pedagogical Studies		expulsion
Futó Kovács Irén		chemistry		expulsion from all universities of the country
Gaál Gergely		Faculty of Arts	member of the National Guard, incitement	strict reprehension
Gábor György		law	member of the National Guard, counter-revolutionary statements	expulsion from all universities of the country
Gombár Jenő		chemistry		expulsion from all universities of the country
Göde Gábor	1936	law	member of UNGB	
Gönczöl Dezső	1935	College of Pedagogical Studies	member of the MC of Szeged	5 year 6 months (acquittal), expulsion from all colleges of the country
Grynaeus Tamás	1931	medicine	member of the MC of Szeged, member of the faculty SB (Supervising Committee) member of the TFLB (Temporary Faculty Leading Board) of AHUCS	2 year
Halász György		medicine	member of the AHUCS on the Faculty of Medicine, member of UNGB (University National Guard Battalion), making flysheets against the Kádár government	

The list of AHUCS members and organisers in Szeged and students taking part in the events of the revolution

name	date of birth	studies	activity, charge	sentence
Hámori Károly	1937	medicine	organising AHUCS in the countryside	
Hegyí Róbert	1937	medicine	member of the AHUCS on the Faculty of Medicine	
Hetyei Gábor		Faculty of Natural Sciences	member of the National Guard	reprehension
Horváth György		Faculty of Natural Sciences	organising demonstration	strict reprehension
Horváth Rezső		Faculty of Arts	incitement	strict reprehension
Igaz Jusstina		Faculty of Arts	incitement	strict reprehension
Írházi Sándor		College of Pedagogical Studies		expulsion
Jákó János	1934	medicine	member of the AHUCS on the Faculty of Medicine, member of the faculty SB	
Jancsó Gábor		College of Pedagogical Studies	member of the MC of Szeged	
Janzer Judit		medicine	member of the AHUCS on the Faculty of Medicine,	
Jenei Károly		College of Pedagogical Studies		5 months (acquittal), expulsion for 2 semesters
Jónás József		Faculty of Natural Sciences	incitement	reprehension
Juhász Antal	1935	Faculty of Arts	member of the AHUCS on the Faculty of Arts,	
Kakuszi Mária		law	calling for strike	written reprehension
Kádár Attila	1932	medicine	member of the AHUCS on the Faculty of Medicine, member of UNGB, member of the faculty SB	
Kádár Dezső	1933	pharmacology	member of the AHUCS on the Faculty of Medicine, member of UNGB, member of the faculty SB	
Károlyi János		College of Pedagogical Studies		expulsion
Kertész Imre		College of Pedagogical Studies		expulsion
Kiss Ferenc		College of Pedagogical Studies		expulsion

The list of AHUCS members and organisers in Szeged and students taking part in the events of the revolution

name	date of birth	studies	activity, charge	sentence
Kiss György	1936	law	member of the AHUCS on the Faculty of Law, member of the university SB	
Kiss Lászlóné		College of Pedagogical Studies		expulsion
Kiss Tamás	1934	law	one of the leaders of AHUCS, member of UNGB (University National Guard Battalion)	5 year
Koos Zoltán		law	member of the National Guard, did not surrender his gun	strict reprehension
Kovács Albert		College of Pedagogical Studies	making flysheets against the Kádár government	1 year 4 months, expulsion
Kovács István	1933	medicine	member of the AHUCS on the Faculty of Medicine, member of UNGB	
Kovács Lajos		Faculty of Natural Sciences	organiser of AHUCS	strict reprehension
Kurcsa Klára	1936		made a copy of SPA documents	10 months
Lakatos Ferenc		College of Pedagogical Studies		expulsion
Lakatos László	1926	medicine	member of the AHUCS on the Faculty of Medicine, member of UNGB	
Lejtényi András	1937	law	one of the leaders of AHUCS	
Magyar Rózsa		College of Pedagogical Studies		expulsion
Nagy Eszter		law	spreading anti-socialist flysheets	expulsion for 2 semesters
Nagy Imre	1919	pharmacology	one of the leaders of AHUCS	10 year
Nagy Zoltán		College of Pedagogical Studies		expulsion for 2 semesters
Nitsovits Jenő		medicine	member of the TFLB of AHUCS, member of the faculty SB	
Paróczai Gergely		College of Pedagogical Studies	two of his poems were read up at the AHUCS meeting of the college of Eger	
Pándi János		College of Pedagogical Studies		expulsion
Pesti János		College of Pedagogical Studies		
Pusztai Éva	1936	chemistry	making flysheets against the Kádár government	1 year 2 months imprisonment, expulsion from all universities of the country
Putnik Tivadar	1929	Faculty of Arts	member of the TFLB of AHUCS on the Faculty of Arts	
Reimann Klára		Faculty of Arts	incitement	expulsion for 2 semesters

The list of AHUCS members and organisers in Szeged and students taking part in the events of the revolution

name	date of birth	studies	activity, charge	sentence
Resli Pál	1934	medicine	member of the MC of Szeged, member of the National Guard	
Rossmann Magda		Faculty of Arts	incitement	expulsion from all universities of the country
Saári Zoltán	1935	medicine	member of the National Guard	10 months
Salamon Nándor		College of Pedagogical Studies	member of the National Guard	
Sarkadi Sándor		Faculty of Arts	incitement	expulsion for 2 semesters
Schreiner Piroska		Faculty of Natural Sciences		expulsion from all universities of the country
Schröder Erzsébet		chemistry		expulsion from all universities of the country
Sersli István	1934	medicine	member of the AHUCS on the Faculty of Medicine, making flysheets against the Kádár government	
Soós László	1934		member of the AHUCS	5 year
Szalai József	1936	medicine	member of UNGB	
Székel László	1935	Faculty of Natural Sciences	member of the MC of Szeged	expulsion from all universities of the country
Szigeti György		law	destroying red stars	strict reprehension
Szikrai Pál		College of Pedagogical Studies		expulsion
Szőke Sándor	1937	College of Pedagogical Studies		reprehension, last warning
Szteszkó Ferenc		College of Pedagogical Studies	member of the TFLB	
Ternei László		College of Pedagogical Studies		suspension (till the sentence)
Tóth Barnabás			member of the AHUCS	
Tóth Imre	1934		one of the leaders of AHUCS, member of UNGB, making flysheets against the Kádár government	6 year 6 months
Urbán József		law	going against the people's democracy	expulsion from all universities of the country
Újvári Pál		College of Pedagogical Studies		expulsion
Várszegi János		College of Pedagogical Studies		expulsion

name	date of birth	studies	activity, charge	sentence
Veres József		medicine	member of the AHUCS on the Faculty of Medicine, member of UNGB	
Vető Miklós	1936	law	member of the AHUCS on the Faculty of Law, member of the National Guard, making flysheets against the Kádár government	
Vezényi Pál	1935	Faculty of Arts	member of the MC of Szeged, member of the TFLB of AHUCS on the Faculty of Arts, making flysheets against the Kádár government	
Volosinovszky Zoltán	1934		deputy commander of UNGB	
Vörös László		law	member of UNGB	

Compilation: Csaba Jancsák

MC = Managing Committee
 NRC = National Revolutionary Committee
 SB = Supervising Committee
 TFLB = Temporary Faculty Leading Board
 UNGB = University National Guard Battalion

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Híreszlát!

1. kör

GYAKORLATI FELADATOK

IX. kongresszus szelleme ébértörte az eszmék bilincseit. Napjainkban ed értelmét, tartalmát kapni a demokráciának, a szocializmus fogalmának. Tartalmát kapni, de még mindig nem teljes. Hogy az legyen, mi nem adhatjuk előnként. Szükség van erre azért, mert nálunk Magyarországon még semmiféle demokráciának az áldásait nem élvezte népünk. Ennek az eltolatlan állapotnak a következménye, hogy a tömegek még ma is nem merik megfogalmazni követeléseiket. A budapesti demonstrációk okt. 6-11. közötti volt a célja, hogy az öntudatossá a lelkekre nehezedő féltelmet, és vérsza- lyezze jogainak a szabad vélemény nyilvánítását. Ez volt az első lépésünk, következhet az októberi politikai helyzet fogja meghatározni. Azazl párhuzam- ban azonban, hogy hangot adunk a néptömegek követeléseinek, a saját portán- t sem hanyagolhatjuk el.

A mostani egyetemi oktatási rendszer szellemi nyomordokokat nevel, nem tudós szakembereket. Annak ellenére, hogy az általi vesztés est- an olyan jól tudja, mint mi, eddig semmilyen intőkedés nem történt a hel- si megjavításra.

Tenni kényeztetünk! ELSŐ LÉPÉSÜNKET AZ OROSZ NYELV FAKULTATÍVÁ TETELÉRT KELL TEN- NENI! Az orosz nyelv kötelező oktatása az egyetemi anyagszervi- mellett teljesen megbénított bennünket, olyan nyelvek tanulmány- ban, amelyek szakterületeinket fontosak lennének. Akarjuk, hogy kötelező legyen egy modern nyelv tanulás, de ezt a hallga- tók érdeklődési körének megfelelően választhassa meg.

Vegyőtek figyelembe, hogy az orosz nyelv ílyetén való oktatása az orosz nyelv- minussz következménye, amely a szocializmusról táplálkozott.

Felhívunk ezért benneteket, hogy 1956. október 22-én jete- ket velünk egységesen sztrájkba az orosz nyelv fakultatív- tételért.

OKTÓBER 22-ÉN NE VAGYATEK FAKULTATÍVÁ TETELÉRT!

strájk mindaddig érvényes, amíg az Oktatásiügyi Minisztérium rendeletben- esentesíti az orosz nyelv fakultatív- tételét.

Budapest, 1956. okt. 10-én.

A budapesti bölcsészhallgatók.

document 1
The letter that arrived from Budapest

Délkütyülés!

Ma este 7^h kor a Maximumban
A budapesti egyetemisták
felhívására válaszolni akartunk.
Teremtünk szabadabb,
igazi demokráciát,
önálló
egyetemi életet!!

Gyertek el mindannyian!

Szeged, 1956. okt 16.



A. K. 12.7. Gyúró, László / R. K. 12.7.16.

document 2

The appeal for the gathering of 16th of October

Parkas László:

Nagy ut előtt
Azoknak az egyetemi haligató barátainak, akik igaz becsü-
letes akarással akarják a jobbat.

Hát kezdjük most már azt az éneket,
Mely amnyi éve ott lapul a szájon!
Zengüljön a buvó, tépettűj felett,
És most már marsány indulóvá vljon.

Tíz év mocskától tisztuló korunk
Fiatal szívek dobbanását várja,
Mincs visszat! az ember beleunt
Immár az eljás, gyáva haligatásba.

Fiukat küldtek süppedő tanyák,
Nyomára lelmi egy igaz mesének,
Komor parasztnok ráncos homlokát
Idezetik, ha holnapról beszélnek.

Nagy gond a gondunk, drága társaim,
De százszor nagyobb nála az imádat,
E nép iránt, mely szánt-vet odakint,
S nem mondhatta országát halánák.

A börtöncellák és a temetők,
Némává tiprott, nagy szívek üzemnek,
Hogy gyurjuk mássá, jobba a jövőt,
Ne higgyünk szük, és abröncsös fejeknek.

Üleld át renő, roppant századunk!
Hogy honnan küldtek, soha ne feledd el,
S haladj az uton, melynek indultunk,
Látni lélekkel s éter értelemmel!

document 3

The poem read up at the gathering of 16th of October

D I A K I A S T V A R S I N K I

Mi, a Szegedi Tudományegyetem, a Szegedi Orvostudományegyetem, a Szegedi Pedagógiai Főiskola, a Szegedi Zenetanárképző hallgatói 1956 október 16-án létrehoztuk saját egyetemi ifjúsági szervezetünket a Magyar Egyetemisták és Főiskolások Szövetségét. Olunk a gondolat, a Szatlin és Bakcsi által rákényszerített szellemi iga lora-ssa. Meg akarjuk védeni hajdani egyetemist. érdekeinket, szabadon akarunk haladni, fejlődni.

A MISZ - tapasztalatunk szerint, melyet maga a MISZ Központi Vezetősége is beismert - elvessztette az ifjúság bizalmát, eszenkivül megcsúszott fejlődésében a Párt mögött. Mi nem várhatjuk meg, amíg utoléri. Nem várhatunk, mert fejlődésre ég a ház. Emiatt a XX. kongresszus szellemében egy új, a MISZ-től teljesen független ifjúsági szervezetet hoztunk létre, amely kizárólag a mi egyetemisták és főiskolások érdekeit képviseli. Mi, a szegediek, megtettük az első lépést, felhívunk benneteket

C S A F L A K O I Z A T O K !!!

terjesztjük a szegedi, március 1956-11

Haktentvél! Holad is az. Van, a Te, rrekaia a Dgaa. Kozan. Egyedben az ené,

C S A F L A K O Z Z A K A Z A Z -ban!!!

Szeged, 1956. október 17

A szegedi MISZ,

document 4

Student Brothers! – the first multiplied appeal of the alliance

Az egyetemi ifjúság problémái

AZ EGYETEMI OKTATÁSI RENDSZER hibái már hosszú idő óta ismeretesek a minisztérium, az oktatók és az egyetemisták előtt. Hangot adtak ezeknek a különböző lapok, tárgyaltak ezekről az Oktatási Minisztériumban, konferenciákra gyűlték össze az egyetemi oktatók, hogy ne elhamarkodottan, hanem mindenképpen helyesen hajtsák végre a szükséges egyetemi reformot. Kétségtelen, hogy a helyes oktatási reform megvalósítása hosszú időt vesz igénybe, különösen ma, amikor nemcsak a népi demokráciákban, hanem nyugaton is válságban van az egyetemi oktatási rendszer. Hosszú időt igényel ez, de nem végeláthatatlan időt. Az Oktatási Minisztérium előzetes tájékoztatása után az egyetemi hallgatók joggal várták, hogy az új tanévben, ha nem is a végleges, de legalább a legszükségesebb intézkedéseket végrehajtják. Ez nem történt meg. Ezen kívül az egyetemi ifjúság azt is várta, hogy első sorban és nagyrészt az őket érdeklő kérdések megvitatására az ifjúság képviselőit is megfogadják hívná. Ez sem történt meg.

Minden aggodalommal töltötte el az egyetemi ifjúságot. Tenni akartak és tenni akarnak saját ügyük érdekében, amely egyben a jövő értelmiségének és így egész hazánknak fontos, életbevágó ügye. „Ez a segítő készség, a hibákat bátran és következetesen bírálni, akár szándék hozta létre. Szegeden a MEFESZ-t, a Magyar Egyetemisták és Főiskolások Egyesült Szövetségét.

Az első kérdés, ami rögtön felvetődik: miért nem a DISZ útján, a DISZ segítségével igyekeznek megoldani problémáikat. A válasz egyben a DISZ és az állami vezetés kritikája is, amit a DISZ Központi Vezetősége önbírálati formájában szintén elismert. A DISZ — bár célkitűzései nagyrészt meggyeznek az egyetemi ifjúság véleményével — már hosszú évek óta nem volt képes átjutni az egyetemi ifjúságot maradéktalanul képviselő szerv lenni. Elvben a párt mellett, gyakorlatban pedig messze mögötte haladt. Tény az, hogy a DISZ napjainkban mindent

meg akar tenni és meg is tesz mindent, hogy visszanyerje a tömegek bizalmát. Az ifjúság bírul ennek és támogatja is a DISZ helyes célkitűzéseit. Vizsgolt szükségét érzi annak is, hogy az egyetemi ifjúság egyelőre egy sajátos egyetemi szervvel is rendelkezze.

Ezért határozták el, hogy az egyetemistákhoz közelálló, a sajátos egyetemi problémákkal foglalkozó szervet létesítsenek.

A MEFESZ SZEGEDEN ALAKULT MEG a Tudományegyetem auditorium maximumában, viharos és bátor elviták közepette. A gyűlés alapföggőzött a tömegek kritikája adta. Bíralták az egyetemi oktatási rendszert, majd az alakuló gyűlés tömeggyűléssé alakult át, ahol is politikai kérdésekről vitatkoztak.

Az ifjúság kezdeményezését helyeselné kell. Pártunk és egész országunk politikája feltehetően támaszkodni akar a tömegek kezdeményező erejére, kritikájára és segítő készségére. A diákgyűlés megmutatta, hogy a megalkult új szervezet rendelkezik olyan erőkkel, amelyekre támaszkodni lehet. De megmutatta azt is, hogy az új szervezetben olyan erők is vannak, amelyek megfontolatlansággal neveltségessé, anarchikussá, erőtlenné tehetik a MEFESZ-t. A diákgyűlés utáni napon, szerdán megválasztották a MEFESZ 18 tagú bizottságát, amely kidolgozza a szervezeti szabályzat-tervezetet, melyet a holnapi napon, szombaton fog megvitatni a diákgyűlés. Jözan fejjel készítették ezt a tervezetet, a realia körülményeket figyelembe véve, mégis bátran, a hibákat nem elkezdvőve.

A MEFESZ jelenlegi, még nem végleges programja nagyrészt meggyezik a DISZ Központi Vezetőségének tegnapi nyilatkozatával. A cél közös, csak a megvalósítás lemmegfelelőbb módját kell megtalálni. A közös gondok és problémák jözan megvitatása legyen a cél.

IGY ES CSAKIS IGY töhheü be a MEFESZ-t a hivatalát és így lesz lehetséges, hogy az egyetemi ifjúság jogos követeléseit mielőbb megoldást nyerjenek.

Apor József

document 5

The article of Délmagyarország

(19th October 1956), an account about the establishment of AHUCS

A szegedi egyetemisták és főiskolások nagygyűlése elfogadta a MEFESZ szervezeti szabályzatát és programját

Tegnap délután 4 órakor a Tudományegyetem auditórium maximumában tartották meg a szegedi egyetemisták és főiskolások ifjúságának a MEFESZ megalakulása utáni első tisztasandékü és lelkes nagygyűlését. A mintegy 200 fiatalok dr. Ferbör József egyetemi tanár, a nagygyűlés elnöke üdvözölte, majd Gönczöl Dezső főiskolai hallgató, a MEFESZ vezetőségi tagja mondott rövid bevezetőt. Ezután a nagygyűlés résztvevőinek felolvasták a Budapesti Műszaki Egyeterről, az Agrártudományi Egyeterről és a Debreceni Tudományegyetemről érkezett üdvözlő iratokat. A következőképpen a MEFESZ vezetősége előterjesztette a szervezeti szabályzatot és a MEFESZ programját, hogy a nagygyűlések megvitassák és végleg formába öntse.

A szervezeti szabályzat értelmében a MEFESZ magába foglalja a felsőoktatásban részesülő fiatalok összességét és a szervezethez csatlakozó fiatalokat is.

Működésében független, szabad szervezet akar lenni és elhatározásaitban a marxista-leninista párt irányvonalát követi. Elsődleges feladatának, mint ez a szervezeti szabályzatból is kitűnik, az egyetemi és főiskolai hallgatók sajátos érdekeinek védelmét tekintli.

A szövetség célja az, hogy az egyetemről és főiskoláról kikerülő ifjúság, ne közönyös tömeg, vagy megfélemlített réteg legyen, hanem a népet, a hazát, a boldog jövőért harcoló bátor, lelkes sereg.

Az elfogadott szervezeti szabályzat értelmében a MEFESZ tagjává válhat minden olyan egyetemi és főiskolai hallgató, aki magának vallja a szervezet célkitűzéseit és aláveti magát a közös demokratikus alapon megteremtett szervezeti szabályzatnak. Az ifjúsági nagygyűlés nyomatékosan aláírta azt a gondolatot, hogy

A MEFESZ az egész magyar ifjúság érdekében akar harcolni és az ifjúság más rétegeivel együtt akar haladni, — önállósága elengedő is.

Kifejezésre juttatták, hogy a munkás és paraszt fiatalokkal szoros kapcsolatot akarnak.

Az ifjúsági nagygyűlésen a szervezeti szabályzat III. fejezeteként meghatározták a

oktatását szabadították meg a dogmatizmustól, tegyük fakultatívvá a filozófia oktatását, a a minősítés „megfelel” — „nem felelt meg” legyen, kevesebb kötelező órát, több speciálköltségumot!

6 Szálló- és lakásügyekben a hallgatók megkövetelték, hogy munkálatok, mely megállapítja a diáklakások legmagasabb bérét, a szálló igazgatójának kinevezéséről az ifjúság képviselőjének vételjoga legyen, a felszabaduló közpületekből — építsenek diákszállókat is a szükséglet szerint.

7. Külföldi utazások szervezése Keletrre és Nyugatra, a diákoknak 10 — 12 napos utazási kedvezményt a bel- és külföldi utazásokhoz.

8. Általános jegykedvezményt kívánnak minden Kulturális rendezvény minden előadására (mozit, színház, hangverseny, stb.)

9. A Zenei Szakiskola főiskolai jellegének elismerését követeljük a hallgatók számára, a rendes egyetemisták megillető jogokkal.

10. A védőnőképről emeljük a főiskolai rangra.

11. Követeljük, hogy állítsa bíróság elé azokat, akik felülkísér az elmúlt időszak büneiért. E tárgyalásoknak a legnagyobb nyilvánosság előtt kell lefolyniuk.

12. Követeljük a tájékoztatás szabadságát.

13. Követeljük, hogy Nagy Imrét és Lukács Györgyöt

válasszák be a Központi Vezetőségbe.

14. Bérügyi reformot követelünk, az alacsony bérek tolemecse ütemének gyorsítását és az államtól származó összjövedelem felső határának megállapítását.

15. Követeljük a halálbüntetés eltörlését a politikai bűnselekményeknél.

16. Új alapokra fektetett, szabad, demokratikus választási rendszert!

17. Követeljük, hogy az egyetemi ifjúság nagyobb részt kapjon az ország politikai és egyéb ügyeinek intézésében.

18. Május 15-e legyen nemzeti ünnep

19. Követeljük az egyetemi autonómiát és ennek gyors végrehajtását.

20. Követeljük az 1848-as Kossuth-emlék viszállítását.

A program elfogadása után még többen felszólltak, és azt is kifejezésre juttatták, hogy a MEFESZ-ben eredményes munkát kívánnak végezni.

A szegedi egyetemi és főiskolai ifjúságnak ez az egész országban nagy visszhangot keltő, bátor és becsülettel szándéku kezdeményezése és állásfoglalása megérdemli a közvélemény elismerését. Bizunk benne, hogy az ifjúsági nagygyűlésen megnyilvánuló lelkesedés és akarat tovább él és fokozódik az ifjúsági szervezet munkájában.

document 6

*The article of Délmagyarország, the first account about
the assembly of 20th published on 21st of October*

SZABADSÁGOT
a meggyötört
MAGYAR NÉPNEK!

Eljének
a
Munkástanácsok!

Elég a mocskos
házságokból!
**IGA-
SZABADSÁGOT!**

Sem kapitalizmus,
Sem szovjet
zsarnokság!

A MAGYAR NÉP NEM
FASISZTA!
NEM ENGEDJÜK BE-
MOCSKOLNI HŐS
ALOTTAINK NEVÉT!

document 7-9
Hand written flyers (December 1956)

A szegedi megyei bíróságtól.

B.I. 1249/1957/6.szám.

A N É P K Ö Z T Á R S A S Á G N E V É B E N
A SZEGEDI MEGYEI BÍRÓSÁG

Szegeden, 1958.évi január hó 6.,10.,13.,15.,20.,21.,27.,29.,30.,
február hó 1.,5., és 10. napjain megtartott részben nyilvános,
részben pedig zárt tárgyalás alapján meghozta és 1958.évi feb-
ruár hó 14. napján kihirdette a következő:

i t t é l e t e t :

Az 1957.évi május hó 29. napjától közbiztonsági őrizetben és
1957. június hó 1.napja óta előzetes letartóztatásban lévő:

I.r.KISS TAMÁS vádlottat,- (: aki 1934. október 26-án Tapolcán
született, atyja: Kiss Ignác, anyja: + Borbás Teréz, Szeged,
Római krt.40. sz. alatti lakos, magyar anyanyelvű és állampol-
gár, nőtlen, II.éves egyetemi hallgató, felszabadulás előtt
iskolai tanuló, vagyontalan, egyetemi évei alatt katonai szol-
gálatot teljesített, őrvezetői rangot ért el, büntetve nem volt:)

bűnösnek mondja ki a népi demokratikus államrend megdöntésére
irányuló szervezkedés kezdeményezése és vezetése, valamint jo-
gosulatlan államtitok megszerzésevel kapcsolatos feljelentési
kötelezettség elmulasztása bűntettében.

Az 1957.évi február hó 24-től közbiztonsági őrizetben, illetve
előzetes letartóztatásban lévő:

II.r.TÓTH IMRE vádlottat,- (: aki 1934. január 31-én Békéscsa-
bán született, atyja: + Tóth László, anyja: Ugyán Ilona, Bé-
készsaba, Sztálin u. 2h. sz. alatti lakos, magyar anyanyelvű
és állampolgár, nőtlen, III.éves egyetemi hallgató, a fel-
szabadulás előtt tanuló volt, vagyontalan, büntetlen:)

bűnösnek mondja ki a népi demokratikus államrend megdöntésére
irányuló szervezkedés kezdeményezése és vezetése, valamint ál-
lamtitok jogosulatlan megszerzése és illetéktelen személlyel való
közlése bűntettében.

Az 1957.évi május hó 11.napja óta előzetes letartóztatásban lévő:

III.r.GÖNCÖL LEZSŐ vádlottat,- (: aki 1935. március 10.napján
Kunágótán született, apja: Göncöl Imre, anyja: Pozsgai Anna,
Magyarbánszék, Arpád u. 21.sz. alatti lakos, magyar anyanyel-
vű és állampolgár, nőtlen, III.éves főiskolai hallgató, vagyont-
talan, 1945.év előtt iskolai tanuló volt, büntetve nem volt:)

bűnösnek mondja ki a népi demokratikus államrend megdöntésére
irányuló mozgalom kezdeményezése és vezetése bűntettében.

Az 1957.évi szeptember hó 10.napja óta előzetes letartóztatás-
ban lévő:

IV.r.ASZALÓS JÁNOS vádlottat,- (: aki 1931. március 22.napján
Szegeden született, atyja: + dr.Aszalós János, anyja: Schwarz

document 10

The sentence of the trial of the leaders of AHUCS
(from 6th January to 10th February, 1958)

Ilona, Budapest, XV. ker. Kosztolányi tér 4.sz. alatti lakos, magyar anyanyelvű és állampolgár, nőtlen, IV. éves fizikus hallgató, vagyontalan, büntetlen, felszabadulás előtt tanuló volt:)

bűnösnek mondja ki a népi demokratikus államrend megdöntésére irányuló szervezkedésben való tevékeny részvétel bűntettében.

Az 1956. évi december hó 15. napja óta közbiztonsági őrizetben és 1957. június 19. napja óta előzetes letartóztatásban lévő:

V.r. TUNYOGI CSAPÓ JÁNOS vádlottat, - (: aki 1902. február 27-én Magyarlapádon született, atyja: + Tunyogi Csapó János, anyja: + Sándor Lujza, Szeged, Kossuth Lajos sug. ut 8.sz. alatti lakos, magyar anyanyelvű és állampolgár, nős Imre Piroskával két nagykorú gyermeke van, magántanár, havi jövedelme 1000-1500 Ft., 1945. év előtt vagyontalan volt, egy gimnázium tulajdonosa, iskolai végzettsége egyetem, büntetve nem volt;)

bűnösnek mondja ki a népi demokratikus államrend megdöntésére irányuló szervezkedésben való tevékeny részvétel bűntettében.

Az 1957. évi május hó 12. napja óta előzetes letartóztatásban lévő:

VI.r. SÓS LÁSZLÓ vádlottat, - (: aki 1934. április hó 13. napján Budapesten született, atyja: Sós László, anyja: Buza Julianna, Budapest, XVI. ker. Sasszem u. 17.sz. alatti lakos, magyar anyanyelvű és állampolgár, nőtlen, IV. éves joghallgató, vagyontalan, 1945. év előtt iskolai tanuló, büntetlen:)

bűnösnek mondja ki a népi demokratikus államrend megdöntésére irányuló mozgalom vezetése, valamint államtitok jogszegésének megszerzése bűntettében.

Az 1957. évi június 10-től november 28-ig, majd 1958. január 17-től a mai napig előzetes letartóztatásban lévő:

VII.r. ABRUDEÁNYAI IVÁN vádlottat, - (: aki 1933. február 20-án Körmenyén született, magyar anyanyelvű és állampolgár, nőtlen, III. éves joghallgató, katona volt az egyetemi zászlóaljban, ahol szakaszvezetői rendfokozatot ért el, apja: dr. Abrudeányai János, anyja: Benkő Ilona, Budapest, I. ker. Attila u. 12.sz. alatti lakos, büntetlen:)

bűnösnek mondja ki a népi demokratikus államrend megdöntésére irányuló szervezkedésben való tevékeny részvétel bűntettében.

Az 1957. évi szeptember 9-től november 28-ig és 1958. január 17-től a mai napig előzetes letartóztatásban lévő:

VIII.r. RESLI PÁL vádlott, - (: aki 1934. január hó 21. napján Kalocsán született, magyar anyanyelvű és állampolgár, nőtlen, IV. éves orvostanhallgató, katona volt az egyetemi zászlóaljban, tizedesi rendfokozatot ért el, apja: + Resli Béla, anyja: Braner Emilia, Kalocsa, Tomori u. 11.sz. alatti lakos, büntetlen:)

ellen a népi demokratikus államrend megdöntésére irányuló szer-

ezkedéssel kapcsolatos feljelentési kötelezettség elmulasztása büntette miatt folyamatba tett eljárást megszünteti.

Az 1957.évi február hó 19.napjától július 29-ig és 1958. január 20-tól a mai napig előzetes letartóztatásban lévő:

IX.r.CSALNER GYÖRGY vádlottat, - (: aki 1934. június 24. napján Ujkírián született, IV.éves műszaki egyetemi hallgató, Szeged, Vasasszentpéter u. 28. sz. alatti lakos, magyar anyanyelvű és állampolgár, nőtlen, katona volt az egyetemi zászlóaljnál őrzetési rendfokozatot ért el, vagyontalan, apja: Csálnér Albert, anyja:Székup Ilona, büntetlen:)

bűnösnek mondja ki államtitok jogosulatlan megszerzése és illetéktelen személlyel való közlése büntetésében.

Az 1957.évi február hó 8.napjától a mai napig előzetes letartóztatásban lévő:

X.r.BARABÁS ISTVÁN vádlottat, - (: aki 1934. november 8.napján Bánlakon született, III.éves joghallgató, magyar anyanyelvű és állampolgár, nőtlen, vagyontalan, az egyetemi zászlóaljnál volt katona őrzetési rendfokozattal, apja: id.Barabás István, anyja: Filipánits Anna, Szeged, Berei u. 6/c. sz. alatti lakos:)

bűnösnek mondja ki államtitok jogosulatlan megszerzése és illetéktelen személlyel való közlése büntetésében.

Az 1957.évi május 10.napjától július 29-ig, majd 1958.évi január hó 18. napjától a mai napig előzetes letartóztatásban lévő:

XI.r.KURCSA KLÁRA vádlottat, - !: aki 1935. május 16-án Érsekújváron született, magyar anyanyelvű és állampolgár, III.éves joghallgató, hajadon, vagyontalan, apja: Kurcsa Géza, anyja: Tóth Ilona, Békéscsaba, Konyves u. 6.sz. alatti lakos, büntetlen előéletű:)

bűnösnek mondja ki, mert a jogosulatlanul megszerzett államtitkot illetéktelen személyek részére hozzáférhetővé tette.

A megyei bíróság ezért:

I.r.KISS TAMÁS vádlottat összbüntetésül 8 /nyolc/ évi börtönbüntetésre, mint főbüntetésre és 10 /tíz/ évi egyes jogoktól való eltiltásra, valamint 500 /öt száz/ Ft. vagyonelkobzásra, mint mellékbüntetésre,-

II.r.TÓTH IMRE vádlottat összbüntetésül 10 /tíz/ évi börtönbüntetésre, mint főbüntetésre, 10 /tíz/ évi közügyektől eltiltásra és 500 /öt száz/ Ft. vagyonelkobzásra, mint mellékbüntetésre,-

III.r.GÖNCÖL DEZSŐ vádlottat 8 /nyolc/ évi börtönbüntetésre, 10 /tíz/ évi egyes jogoktól való eltiltásra és 500 /öt száz/ Ft. vagyonelkobzásra, mint mellékbüntetésre,-

IV.r.ASZALÓS JÁNOS vádlottat 2 /kettő/ évi börtönbüntetésre, 5 /öt/ évi egyes jogoktól való eltiltásra és 500 /öt száz/ Ft. vagyon-

elkobzásra, mint mellékbüntetésre,-

V.r. TUNYOGI CSAPÓ JÁNOS vádlottat 5 /öt/ évi börtönbüntetésre, 10 /tiz/ évi egyes jogoktól való eltiltásra és 1.000 /egyezer/ Ft. vagyonekobzásra, mint mellékbüntetésre,-

VI.r. SÓS LÁSZLÓ vádlottat összülntetésül 7 /hét/ évi börtönbüntetésre, 10 /tiz/ évi egyes jogoktól való eltiltásra és 500 /öt-száz/ Ft. vagyonekobzásra, mint mellékbüntetésre,-

VII.r. ABRUDBÁNYAI IVÁN vádlottat 5 /öt/ évi börtönbüntetésre, 10 /tiz/ évi egyes jogoktól való eltiltásra és 500 /öt-száz/ Ft. vagyonekobzásra, mint mellékbüntetésre,-

IX.r. CSALNER GYÖRGY vádlottat 3 /három/ évi börtönbüntetésre, 5 /öt/ évi egyes jogoktól való eltiltásra és 500 /öt-száz/ Ft. vagyonekobzásra, mint mellékbüntetésre,-

X.r. BARABÁS ISTVÁN vádlottat 4 /négy/ évi börtönbüntetésre, 5 /öt/ évi egyes jogoktól való eltiltásra és 500 /öt-száz/ Ft. vagyonekobzásra, mint mellékbüntetésre,-

XI.r. KURCSA KLÁRA vádlottat 1 /egy/ évi és 6 /hat/ hónapi börtönbüntetésre, 5 /öt/ évi egyes jogoktól való eltiltásra és 500 /öt-száz/ Ft. vagyonekobzásra í t é l i.

A megyei bíróság a kiszabott börtönbüntetésbe beszámítja a vádlottaknak a közbiztonsági őrizetben, illetve előzetes letartóztatásban eltöltött idejét.

A megyei bíróság a büntelként lefoglalt és a Bírósági Gazdasági Hivatalnál Bjk. 151/1957. táétel alatt kezelt 1 db. OLIVATTI gyárműnyu 540250 gyári számu-, és 1 db. ADLER gyárműnyu 576291 gyári számu táskairógépeket elkobozni rendeli.

Kötelezi vádlottakat, hogy az eddig felmerült 2.619.80 /kettő-ezerhatsszáztizzenkilenc Ft.80 fil/ Ft-ot egyetemlegesen, kötelezi továbbá ezen felül Kiss Tamás I.r. és Tunyogi Csapó János V.r. vádlottakat, hogy további 500 /öt-száz/ Ft-ot egyetemlegesen, míg Csalner György vádlott 128 /egyszázhuszonnyolc/ Ft. összeget, az valamint az ezután felmerülő összeget az államnak fizesse meg.



document 11

The great assembly of AHUCS on 20th of October in Auditorium Maximum (faculty of arts) (photo: Béla Liebmann)



document 12

András Lejtényi (standing) reads up the rules and regulations. Professor József Perbíró sits in the middle of the table, Tamás Kiss on his left and József Vörös and Vilmos Ács on his right, both are wearing glasses.



document 13

The first row: Dezső Baróti chancellor, Gábor Fodor academician



document 14

Voting

A szövetség célja az, hogy a gyermekekről és főiskolák-
ról kikerülő ifjúság, ne köz-
nyűs tömeg, vagy megfélemlít-
ett réteg legyen, hanem a
népért, a hazáért, a boldo-
gabb jövőért harcoló bátor,
lelkes sereg.

Az elfogadott szervezeti szabályzat értelmében a MEFESZ tagjává válhat minden olyan egyetemi és főiskolai hallgató, aki magának vállalja a szervezet célkitűzéseit és aláveti magát a közös demokratikus alapon megteremtett szervezeti szabályzatnak. Az ifjúsági nagyszámú nyomatékosan aláhúzza azt a gondolatot, hogy

A MEFESZ az egész magyar ifjúság érdekelért akar harcolni és az ifjúság más rétegeivel együtt akar haladni, — önállósága elérére is.

Kifejezésre juttatták, hogy a munkás és paraszt fiatalokkal szoros kapcsolatot akarnak.

Az Ifjúsági nagygyűlésen a szervezetek szabályzat III. fejezeteként meghatározták az egyetemista és főiskolai fiatalok, a MEFESZ szervezeti felépítését is.

Az új szervezet működését alapelveivel a fiatalok a tökéletes demokráciát tették magukévá, amely a XX. kongresszuson elhangzott vezérelvek szerint érvényesül. Az egyszemélyi vezetést az ifjúság tömegeinek tevékenységével a dogmatizmus, a vélemények és elképzelések szabad és termékeny harcával akariák felváltani.

Jelszavuk: demokráciáért, a bolderabb jövőért, a szocializmusért!

A MEFESZ vezetői a közvetkező, az ifjúsági nagygyűlés elé terjesztett megvitatott és elfogadott programtervezetet közzétették szerkesztőségünkkel:

1. Az egyetemi ifjúság káderezését a párt augusztusban hozott értelmiségi határozatának szellemében végezzék.

2. A „Szegedi Egyetem” az egyetemi és iskolai hallgatók sajtóorgánuma legyen, ez tükrözzék tartalmában és formájában.

3. A Diákjóléti Bizottság-
ba küldendő tagot a Kar
(gyűlésen) választják!

4. Követeljük a szabad elvi viták rendezésének jogát

5. A túlterhelések meg- szüntetése érdekében:

a nőhallgatók számára töröljék el a honvédelmi oktatást, a férfighallgatók számára ezt a kollégiumot heti kétféle órára csökkentették; a nem-szakfolyóiról a minősítést „megfelelt” — „nem felelt meg” legyen. a marxizmus

Férfienek delült a szeredi Orvostudományi Egyetem ifjúsági nagygyűlése a szovszerszer hallgatók a pontokba foglaltak azokat a követeléseket amelyeket a győzsereszközök megvalósítják, és a követelések munkájának nagyobb megbeszéléséért várják. Szerkesztők, gúnyok, ellentét a 16 pontból álló követelést — s mivel a követelések néhány pontjában foglaltakat az oktatásiügyi minster kedvező nyilatkozata után — máris megvalósulni látnak az alábbiakban közöltük a győzsereszer egyetemi hallgatók további kívánságait.

Az orvoshallgatók a közhízen azt kénik hogy a lehető legrövidebb időn belül állítsák vissza az evetlem automatiáját. Programjüket az orvosok megismerik, és a terhelés alatt az Orvostudományi Evetlem mellett független gyógyszerészkart, s addig is azaz ez megvalósul felváltó kezdve nevezetesen a gyógyszerészek dékán. Az orvosok gyógyszerészek jöttével a gyógyszerészek terjedését, hogy a gyógyszerészek hallgatóinak csak a gyógyszerészek képesített előző adókat elő a szükséges kollégiumok a gyógyszeres gyárakban és gyógyszerészeti intézetekben a laboratóriumok és kórházakban a gyógyszerészek képesített emberek látnak. A gyógyszerészek a

[illegible]

A szegedi gyógyszerész
hallgatók nevében:
KÁDAR DEZSŐ
IV. éves gyógyszerész
hallgató, a gyűlés elnöke
ségének tagja

[illegible]

— Korábban bí-
zott gyámokdoki-
szervezeti munka-
már a szakszerve-
zet dolgozik üze-
pártirányításban
tevényaszava m-
A szakszervezeti
sajátosságait figy-
lvi-politikai
adunk. Megha-
szakszervezeti f-
sok véleménye-
ség alapján a
szakszervezeti m-
adatokat a term-
tést határoztuk
má kimondjuk -
van helyesen -
szakszervezet el-
adata a dolgoz-
érdekeinek véde-
termelés és az
való gondoskodá-
lasztható el. Ha
gondoskodunk a
ról, akkor ez ki-
légre is.

— Az emberek
dusodának n
tényei vannak
fonógyárban?
— Az orvosok

ősvetítettük, győz-
tős szerepe van
vezetnek is. El-
mühelyi dolgozó
problémája. Az
zottság, a párt-
tek is figyelem-
kollektív szer-
tainak megvaló-
feladatát is azo-
ja kezében a
Tudjuk, hogy
rossz munkakör-
zött dolgoznak.
A pártbizottság
szervezet is pró-
bal, hogy a sim-
zók póttdíjat ké-
sikérült ezt el-
— Hogyan ve-
le a dolgozó
leményét, jav-

— Az üzem
a pártalapszerv
gyáznak arra,
zók javaslatot
kérdéseivel me
foglalkozzanak.
vezet önállóság
is megvan, s vi
mi történik az

[illegible]

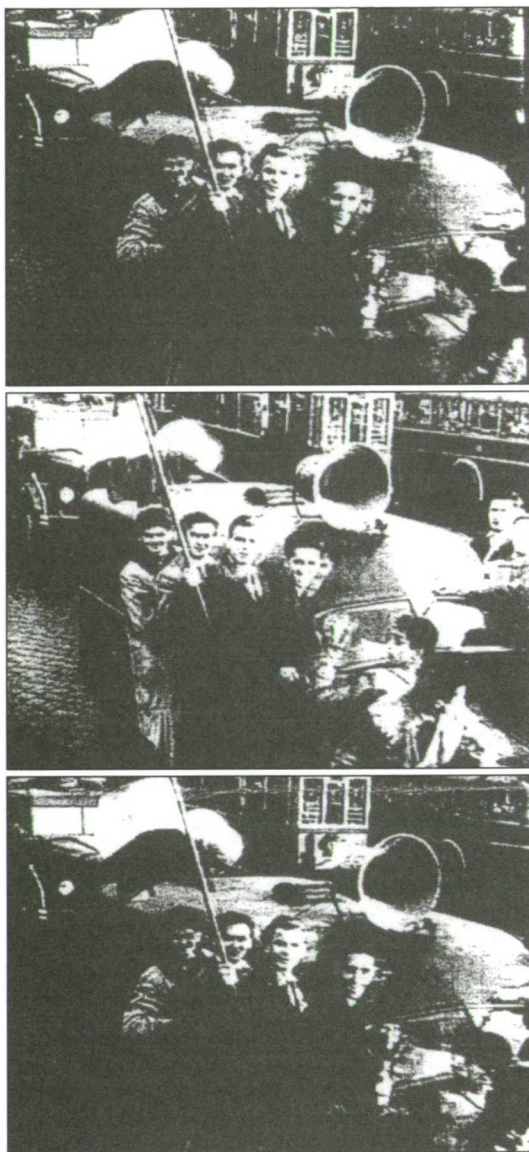
ezer forint, harmadik di-

Ezenkívül az értékesítési

pályamunkákat is jutalmaz-
za a bíráló bizottság. A leg-
jobb pályamunkák kiadásá-
ról a Hazafias Népfront Or-
szágos Tanácsa gondoskodik.
Határidő 1957. december 3.

A pályázattal kapcsolatban
mindennemű felvilágosítást
a Hazafias Népfront Országos
Tanácsa művelődési osztálya ad
(Budapest V., Deákgrád rakpart 24. Telefonszám
182—850).

— Bábszínház bemut
lesz ma délután 3-kor a K
mara Bábszínházban. Bem
tatásra kerül Szilágyi Dezs
Mackó művik újabb kalán
jai című kétfelvonásos báb
játéka.



document 16

The afternoon of 23rd October 1956. The truck of Petofi Circle with speakers on it. From left to right: András Lejtényi, two unknown persons, András Hegedus B., Tamás Kiss

TÜNTETŐ FELVONULÁS SZEGEDEN

Éjszakai nagygyűlés a Kossuth szobornál — Rend és nyugalom a városban

NEM SZERVEZTE SENKI, nem kellett hosszas előkészítés, csak annyi, amíg leért Budapestről a hír: a pesti ifjúság az utcára tödült, hogy tüntetésével kifejezze együttes érzését a lengyelek pár napja megindult harcával, a szabadságért, a szocialista demokráciáért.

A budapesti ifjúság szava, eszméi visszhangra találtak Szegeden is. Több mint kétezer egyetemista indult el a kora esti órákban a Dóm térről, forradalmi dalokat énekelve, forradalmi jelszavakkal. A Marselles dallamát a lengyelek éltetése váltotta fel, a »Ha magyar vagy, állj közénk!« jelszót a »Kossuth címet viszza!« követelés.

Az egyre növekvő tömeg figyelmeztetett, tömör sorokban vonult végig a tiszaparton, a Széchenyi téren, majd a Kossuth-szobornál állapodott meg. A Klauszli téren a Himnusz énekelődött.

A HIMNUSZ ELÉNEKELÉSE UTÁN a szegedi MEFESZ egyik fiatal tagja ismertette a pesti eseményeket és a tüntetés célját. Többször szakította félbe lelkes énekes, a lengyeleket, a pestieket éltették. Ez felhangzott a követelés: A Telpa magyar halljuk! Amikor azután percek a telt időállt a szobor talapzatának párkányára egy egyetemi hallgató, megszólaltatni Petőfi szavait, itt is, mint Pesten, ezek harsogtak vele együtt minden veraszak után: »Feküszünk, esküszünk, hogy rabok tovább nem leszünk!«

A Klauszli téren elhangzott a kérdés: Megvárják-e az egyetemisták a munkásokat, akik 10 órakor jönnek ki az üzemekből? Haragdon rugott fel válaszként: »Munkás-diák szövetséget! Munkás-diák szövetséget!«

A KOSSUTH SZOBORTÓL a színház elé vonult a tömeg. A színház tagosai fogadták őket és kifejezték szolidaritásukat.

A színház erkélyéről Bittkey Károly Jászai Mari-díjas színművész elszavalta a Telpa magyar-t. Itt is körusban visszhangzottak a refrén sorai.

Ezután a gyárak felé vonultak rendezett sorokban. Ekkor már 7 százlot vittek a menet élén.

A közörség előtt némán vonultak el a sorok.

Elsőnek a Szegedi Kender-főgyár előtt álltak meg

Nagyrészt diákokból álló küldöttség ment be a gyárba. A munka nem állt le, de minden üzemrészről 10 ember kijött fogadni a felvonulókat. A gyár kapuját megnyitották és az első sorok 5 méterre bementek a gyárba, ahol ismét elhangzott a »Munkás-diák szövetség« jelszavak.

A Kossuth Lajos sugárúton két katonai autóval találkozott a felvonulók. Amikor azok befordultak egy mellékutcába, hogy helyet adjanak a menetnek, lelkesen megtapsolták őket és éltették a honvédséget.

10 ÓRAKOR a gyárakból is sokan indultak rendezett sorokban be a városba. Nemzetiszó szalókkal az élen a színházhoz vonultak. Ott az erkélyen ugyancsak nemzetiszó szalók

és egy nagy Kossuth-címer ragyogott már a faházkényben. A címet utasul, éljenzással köszöntötték. A színház előtt várta be a munkások az egyetemisták később érkező nagy csapatát. A színház előtt néhány — részeg is volt közöttük, — helytelen jelszavakat kiabáltak, de ezeket az erkélyről beszélő egyetemista szóok, és maga a tömeg elűlte. Világosan és egyértelműen állást foglaltak a munkások, parasztok, diákok szövetség, szoros kapcsolat mellett. Helyeslés fogadta a szónok szavait, amikor arról beszélt, hogy mi továbbra is szilárdan szocialista alapon rendeztünk.

A SZÍNHÁZTÓL ÚJRA Kossuth-szoborhoz indultak a tüntetők.

Az éjszakai órákban több

ezer főnyi tömeg gyülekezett itt össze. Miután elenkeltek a himnusz, a diákifjúság képviselői ismertették a MEFESZ követeléseit a tömeg lelkes helyeslésétől kísérve. Majd Bittkey Károly ismét elszavalta a Széchenyi és a Nemzeti dalt, szinte együtt a tömeggel. Ezután a munkásdiák önkéntes képviselői álltak az emelvényre, akik elmondták a munkások néhány követelését, a együttérzésüket fejezték ki a rögtönzött, szívből jövő felszólásokat hatalmas tapsal fogadták. Majd, miután bejelentették, hogy vasárnap nagygyűlést kíván rendezni a Klauszli téren az ifjúság, a tömeg kívánságára a Kossuth-címet kiiktatás a Kossuth-szobor talapzatára és felszabadult hangulatban fejelemzestelen elvonultak.

document 17

A report about the demonstration of 23rd held in Szeged (Délmagyarország, 24th October 1956)

P E L H I V L S

A SZEGEDI EGYETEMEK IPJUSÁGAHOZ.

FELELŐSSÉGÜNK TELJES TUDATÁBAN ÉS HAZAFIUI KÖTELESSÉGTŐL VEZET-
VE KÉRJÜK AZ EGYETEMEK IPJUSÁGÁT, HOGY HAZÁNK RENDKIVÜLI HELY-
ZETÉBEN ŐRIZZE MEG NYUGALMÁT ÉS TARTÓZKODJÉK MINDENFÉLE TÖMEGES
MEGMOZGULÁSTÓL, GYÜLÉSTŐL, VAGY FELVONULÁSTÓL, MERT CSAK EZ A
MAGATARTÁS BIZTOSITJA, HOGY NAGY IMRE ELVTÁRS A MINISZTERTANÁCS
NÉPÜNK BI ZALMÁT ÉLVEZŐ ELNÖKE MINÉI ELŐBB-MEGHALÓSITHASSA PRO-
GRAMJÁT ÉS HOZZÁFOGHASSON SAJÁTOS MAGYAR VISZONYAINKNAK MEGFELELŐEN
A SZOCIALIZMUS ÉPÍTÉSÉHEZ

A MEFESZ PESTI KÜLDÖTTJEINK LETARTÓZTATÁSÁRÓL ELTERJEDT KÖZSA HIREK
MINDEN ALAPOT NÉLKÜLÖZNEK. A MEFESZ BUDAPESTI KIKÜLDÖTTJEI A KÉT EGYE-
TEM TANÁCSÁNAK VÉDELME ALATT ÁLLNAK ÉS A KÉT TANÁCS A VELÜK VALÓ
KAPCSOLAT MEGTEREMTÉSE ÉRDEKÉBEN LÉPÉSEKET TETT

Szeged, 1956. évi október hó 24.-én.

Dr. Korpási Béla
Dr. Korpási Béla.
dékán.

Dr. Baróti Dezső
Dr. Baróti Dezső.
rektor.

A MEFESZ Diáktanácsa

névben:

Putnik László
Putnik László.

Eisler Róbert
Eisler Róbert.

Dodák Tibor
Dodák Tibor.

Hegyi Róbert
Hegyi Róbert.

Lőrincz Lajos
Lőrincz Lajos.

document 18

An appeal of the adult and student leaders of the university in which they
asked for tranquillity (24th October)

A budapesti egyetemi ifjúság hatalmas tüntetése — Kétszázezer fiatal az utcán

Budapest, 1956 október 23.
Különytudósióink telefonjelen-
tése.

„Miénk az utca” — hír-
déli címeben a Szabad Ifjú-
ság néhány perccel ezelőtt
megjelent különkiadása, Va-
lóban miénk az utca, hiszen
dei óta több mint 200.000-en
hómpolyognak a pesti utcá-
kon. Amikor ezeket a sorok-
kat diktálom, már égnék a
lámpák a főváros utcáin, de
még mindig több mint száz-
ezren állnak egységes sorok-
ban, rendben és fegyelmel-
ten a parlament előtti téren.

Tüntel a pesti ifjúság. Meg-
próbálom röviden, gyorsan
rendszerezni a mai nap viha-
ros eseményeit. A kora reg-
geli órákban a budapesti
egyetemek ifjúsága rendki-
vuli nagygyűléseken elhatá-
rozta, hogy a lengyel eseme-
nyek kapcsán rokonszenvük
kifejezéséért ma délután
népes tüntetést rendez. Az el-
határozás még a délelőtti
órákban nyilvánosságra ke-
rült, a pesti egyetemisták a
Petőfi-szobornál, míg a bu-
daiak Bem József szobránál
beszélték meg a találkozót.
Közben a délelőtti órákban
az egyetemi ifjúság küldött-
sége felkeresték a budapesti
nagyüzemek munkásfiataljait
és közös gyűléseken fogadták
meg, hogy mindenben köve-
tik a hős lengyel ifjúság pél-
dáját, az új politika legtel-
jesebb magyar győzeleméért.

Mint derült ógból a vil-
lámcsapás, úgy jött vula-
mennnyivel dél után a várat-
lan hír, hogy a belügyminisz-
ter a mai napra gyűlekezési
tilalmat rendelt el és betiltot-
ták a pesti ifjúság tüntetését.
A belügyminiszteri betiltítás
után az ifjúság legkülönbö-
zőbb rétegében — egyetemen
és üzemekben egyfor-
mán — óriási felháborodás
jött ki. Különböző küldötti-

ségek keresték fel néhány
percen belül az éppen ülésző
Politikai Bizottságot. Köve-
telték a belügyminiszteri til-
lalom azonnali feloldását.

Közben a ragyogó nap-
télés időben a márciusi fla-
talok mai örökösei példás
rendben, vidáman, nótaszóval
gyűlekeztek. Fél 3 után né-
hány perccel két gépkocsi é-
kezett a Petőfi-szobor előtti
térre a jó hírrel, hogy szabad
a tüntetés. Kuczka Péter, a
fiatal magyar költő e szavai,
hogy szabad a tüntetés, óriási
tapsvihar és éljenzés fogadta.
Néhány perccel később a Pe-
tőfi-szobor talapzatáról Sin-
kovits Imre, a Nemzeti Szín-
ház fiatal művésze már a
Nemzeti Dalt szavalta, a sz
eskü szavai véle együtt
zengte a budapesti ifjúság.

Megindult az ifjúság
hatalmas erős, népi egységet,
bátorságot és a jövőbe vetett
biztos hitet kifejező ragyogó
menete. Végig a városban,
amre csak elvonult ez a
több százezres tömeg, minde-
nütt éljenzés, tapsorkán fo-
gadta az ifjúságot. Eközben a
sorokban hatalmas hangor-
kában szólt meg egyre
több, közös akaratunkat ki-
fejező jelszó. „Éljen a ma-
gyar szabadság, éljen a haza!”
— Lengyel—magyar barátsá-
got, jöletet és szabadságot!
— Szovjet—magyar barátságot
— az egyenlőség alapján!
— Munkás, diák egyet akar! jö-
jön velünk, aki magyar!
— Ne csináljunk mindent kéve,
Nagy Imrét a vezetésbe!
— Ifjúságunk így kiált, mutas-
son utat a párt! — hangzo-
tak a harcos jelszavak végig
a fővárosi utcákon. S közben,
ahogyan Buda felé halad a
tömeg, a házak ablakaiban
már megjelennek a nemze-
tisíró lobogók és mindenütt a
budapesti nép legteljesebb
rokonszenve kísérte az ifjú-
ság harcos tüntetését. Ami-
kor Bem tábormok szobrához

értek, már ott legett a szo-
bor két oldalán a magyar és
a lengyel lobogó. A szobor
homlokzatán a megjelenő
Kossuth-címet a tömeg má-
moros üdvözléssel fogadta.

Innen ez a 200.000-es, nagy
erőt és egységet kifejező tö-
meg a parlament elé vonult.
Ütközben röpcédulák ter-
jesztették az egyetemi ifjú-
ság követeléseit. Ezek között
a legfontosabbak a követke-
zők:

— Új alapokra helyezett sza-
bad, demokratikus választási
rendszer. Önálló és kezde-
ményező külpolitikát. Teljes
egyenjogságon alapuló ma-
gyar—szovjet barátságot.
Farkas Mihály és társai bü-
nerének nyilvános tárgyalá-
sát. Március 15. október 6.
nemzeti ünneppé nyilvání-
tását követeli az egyetemi ifjú-
ság. Mindezek a követelések
forró lelkesedéssel találko-
tak az ifjúság százezres töme-
gében.

Amikor a parlament
elő értünk, már velünk ha-
ladt az üzemekből és hivat-
alokból munka végeztével az
utcan járó egész pesti nép. A
parlament előtt felhangzott a
himnusz százezrek ajkán, s
amikor beköszöntött az ünne-
pélyes, szinte fénszerű csend,
akkor éreztük csak igazán,
hogy mennyire egységes a mi
ifjúságunk, a mi népünk. A
himnusz utolsó hangjai után
ez a hatalmas tömeg egy erő-
vel, egy hangon kiáltotta:
„Éljen a magyar szabadság,
éljen a haza!”

Sámjén Péter

document 19

A report of Délmagyarország about the revolutionary events of Budapest
(24th October)

Nyugalom a szegedi egyetemen

A ma délelőtti órákban a Szegedi Tudományegyetem rektora, dr. Baróti Dezső és dr. Koch Sándor professzor, a Természettudományi Kar dékánja az Auditorium maximumban

felhívást intézett az egyetemi ifjúsághoz, hogy a fiatalság őrizze meg e rendkívüli helyzetben nyugalma, és mindenki folytassa tanulmányi munkáját,

document 20

A news from the 24th October 1956 edition of Viharsarok

Megalakult és munkához kezdett Szegeden a néptanács és elnöksége

Szegeden, október 27-én, szombaton a tanácsháza nagytermében, a déli órákban összeült az üzemek és a különböző intézmények dolgozóit által megválasztott munkástanács. Ezen az ülésen választották meg a munkástanács ideiglenes intézőbizottságát, amelyet megbíztak azzal is, hogy az országos és helyi kérdésekben tett fontos észrevételekkel, javaslatokkal foglalkozzék, tegyen intézkedéseket.

Hétlőn, október 29-én, a délelőtti órákban ismét összehívták a tanácsháza nagytermében a munkástanács tagjai. Ezt megelőzően

külön ülést tartott a szombaton megválasztott ideiglenes intéző bizottság. Az ideiglenes intézőbizottság és az egész munkástanács átalakult városi néptanáccsá. Új nevével is azt kívánja kifejezésre juttatni, hogy a nép minden rétegét képviseli tevékenységével.

A városi néptanács elnöksége első ülésén 4 fontos programpontra dolgozott ki.

Elhatározta a néptanács, hogy a szombati megbeszélésükön elhangzott javaslatok, beadványok alapján, melyek mind a helyi és mind az országos kérdésekre vonatkoznak, memorandumot készí-

tenek, és ezt három tagú küldöttség személyesen eljuttatja a minisztertanácshoz.

A második pontként elhatározták, hogy a katonai közigazgatással egyetértésben létrehozzák Szegeden is a nemzetőrséget. A következő pontként szerepel, hogy helyesen meghatározzák a néptanács elnöksége és a hivatali apparátus közötti viszonyt.

A negyedik pont a közellátás minden vonatkozásban való megjavítását, illetve a szükségletek folyamatos biztosítását foglalja magában.

document 21

The establishment of national council in Szeged in 29th October.

(Délmagyarország 30th October 1956)

A néptanács elnökségének tagjai

Az alábbiakban ismertetjük a szegedi néptanács elnökségének tagjait: Ács Vilmos, a MEFESZ képviselője. Fűbián Ferenc újságíró, Horváth Jenő, a Szegedi Nemzeti Színház főrendezője, Jozsi István, a Szegedi Kenderfonógyár segédművezetője, Kovács József főkönyvelő, Kl-

rályházi Sándor művezető, Lukács Andrásné, a Szegedi Kenderfonógyár dolgozója, Németh Ferenc, a Délmagyarország munkatársa, Palotás József, a Fűtőház dolgozója, dr. Ferbiri József, a Szegedi Tudományegyetem Állam- és Jogtudományi Karának dékánhelyettese,

Strasser Gyula, a Szegedi Kenderfonógyár üzemgazdái, Szegedi István, az Autóközlékes Vállalat dolgozója, Szekeres István egyénileg dolgozó paraszt, dr. Tóth Ágoston, a Tatarozó Vállalat dolgozója és Takács polgármester, az Élelmiszerkereskedelmi Vállalat dolgozója,

document 22

Vilmos Ács represented AHUCS in the leading board of the national council in Szeged (Délmagyarország 30th October 1956)

Dr. Baróti Dezső és dr. Korpássy Béla közös nyilatkozata

Dr. Baróti Dezső, a Szegedi Tudományegyetem rektora és dr. Korpássy Béla, a Szegedi Orvostudományi Egyetem dékánja közös nyilatkozata lapunk munkatársának:

Nagy Imrének a rádióban elhangzott beszédét a nagy népi megmozdulás eredményeként tartjuk, s mint ilyen, pozitívan értékeljük. Az új kormány egyes olyan tagjaival szemben azonban, — akik a sztálinista időkben maradéktalanul kiszolgálták, fenntartással viseltetünk. Kíváncsok volnánk ezeknek olyan személyekkel való ki-

cserélése, akik az egész magyar dolgozó nép bizalmát élvezik.

Örömmel üdvözljük a szegedi munkástanácsok megalakulását és első tevékenységüket, mely a város lakosságának érdekeit szolgálja. A magunk részéről bizalommal tekintünk megújított hazánk jövője felé. A magyar munkásság és ifjúság egyetértésével és józan realpolitikai érzéke biztosítja annak, hogy a kormányzat programját, amely a főbb pontjaiban megegyezik az egész magyar nép kívánságával, valóban végre is tudjuk hajtani.

document 23

All leaders of the university and colleges stood by the ideas of revolution
(Délmagyarország 30th October 1956)

Megalakult a Szegedi Tudományegyetem forradalmi tanácsa

Tegnap délelőtt az Ady téri egyetem Auditórium Maximusában a Szegedi Tudományegyetem professzorai, oktató személyzete, adminisztratív és fizikai dolgozói, az Egyetemi Könyvtár tagjai összejöttek, hogy megválasszák a Tudományegyetemi forradalmi tanácsot. Koch Sándor egyetemi tanár megnyitó beszédje után sikeres szavazás kezdődött. A választás eredményeként az egyetem forradalmi tanácsának tagjai lettek: Halász Flórián, Perlcsi József, Székelyfalvy Nagy Béla professzor. A segédszemélyzet közül Bánkúti Imre, Bókai Mihály és Szendrői János, a könyvtár dolgozói közül Molnár Istvánt, az adminisztratív dol-

gozók közül Endreffy Lóránt, Kovács Ilona és Sántha Istvánra esett a választás. A fizikai dolgozók közül pedig Déri Károlyt, Király Sándort és Nagy Lászlót jelölték a Szegedi Tudományegyetem forradalmi tanácsába.

Népfront-hetilap Szegeden

Értesítéseink szerint, amint a műszaki lehetőségeket, papírt, terjesztést kielégítően biztosítani lehet, s a normális állapotok helyreállnak, a közvélemény kívánságára népfrent-hetilap indul Szegeden.

document 24

The establishment of the revolution committee of the university
on 30th October (Délmagyarország 31st October 1956)

Az otthonuktól távol levő és minden pénzforrástól elzárt egyetemisták részére a szegedi egyetemek rendkívüli szociális segélyt osztanak ki. Az összeg átfolyamként 1000-2000 forint körül mozog.

The students got an irregular social payment remained in Szeged because of the revolution (Délmagyarország 31st October 1956)

A Szegedi Orvostudományi Egyetem Munkaközi Társasága nagy méltósággal üdvözli a Szegedi városi kórház igazgatójának, pontokba írt felhívását a kormányzat eljuttatott kiegészítéssel, kedden az esti órákban megkapta. Tartalom: dr. Walter Károly, dr. Kúhán Ferenc, dr. Heltényi Géza, dr. Kelmenc Endre, dr. Nagyközy Pál, Tóthvárosy Károly, Széll Károly, dr. Jutis Sándor, dr. Jutis Sándor, Páczelt József, Páncs István, Olasz Imre, Jakó János, Nilszovits Jenő. Kádár Dezső. A munkaközi társaság elnöke dr. Walter Károly, helyettese dr. Heltényi Géza.

A farradalmi társaság a városi Nemzeti Színházban való közreműködést a kormányzat felhívására dr. Kúhán Ferenc, dr. Székely György, dr. Jutis Sándor, Grunow Tamás, Heltényi Géza.

The establishment of the revolution committee of the Medical University on 30th October (Szeged Népe 1st November 1956)

• A fenti hirdetés a Szegedi Széchenyi Rádiónak mondotta W. dr. Perbire Józsi professzor.

[illegible]

The professors of Szeged published an appeal in order to protect the achievements of the revolution (Szeged Népe, 4th of November)

Szeged Város Forradalmi Nemzeti Bizottsága felhívja a város lakosságát, akik be, a rend és nyugalom érdekében azok a személyek, akik nem a rendőrség, a honvédség, vagy az új igazgatóval ellátott nemzetőrség tagjai, a náluk kint levő fegyvereket és lövért, vagy rabban anyagot haldéktalanul, de legkésőbb 1956. november 6-án déli 12 óráig szállítsák be a városi rendőrségre (vö. Tiszta szálló), vagy a Juhász Gyula egyetemi diákotthonban (Tolbucsin sugárút 23) az átvételre kijelölt személyeknek.

ismételten felhívjuk a lakosság figyelmét, hogy ennek a rendelkezésnek saját maga és a város érdekében haladéktalanul tegyen eleget!

SZEGED VÁROS
FORRADALMI NEMZETI BIZOTTSÁGA

The last date of surrender was 6th of November appointed by the National Revolution Committee of Szeged

B.M. Csengeri megyei Rendőrfőkapitányság.
Politikai Nyomozó Osztály.

Szigorúan titkos!

Akt:
Vette:
Idő: 1957. IV. 26.

K i v e n n a t.

Ügynöki jelentés.

Szeged, 1957. ápr. 24.

Tárgy: Az ellenferradalmi kibontakozása az egyetemeken.

Alaszkai Helmut II. éves joghallgató részére egy levél érkezett a budapesti helcsfas karra. Címzett szerint a levelet egy barátjától kapta és a feladó nevét nem tudta. A levél tartalmából a következőkre emlékszem: A levélíró azt írja, hogy Rajkák temetésének napján a temetés után kisebb méretű tüntetést szerveztek és a szövet nagykövetség és még / erre pontosan nem emlékszem / utónna vagy a Miniszter Tanács, vagy pedig az Oktatásiügyi Minisztérium elé vonultak. A tüntetésben csak egyetemisták vettek részt a levél szerint. A szövet nagykövetség elé ha jól emlékszem a szövet csapatok kivonulását és az orosz nyelv elterelését követelték. Az utóbbi helyen pedig főleg egyetemista tüntetési követeléseket hangzottak. Írja továbbá, hogy mivel a kormány ill. az Okt.ügyi Minisztérium csak halogattja az egyetemi refernek kibecsalását, az összes egyetemnek lépjenek sztrájkba. De arra határozottan nem emlékszem, hogy minem előzést bejuttattunk-e, vagy csak az orosz órára ne menjünk el. Az utóbbit tartom valószínűnek. A sztrájk kezdetének napja a levélben okt. 22.-re volt kitűzve. A levélben többször volt szó, mint amit leírtam, de én nem olvastam, csak az egyik felolvadásán jelen voltam. A berítékben úgy tudom volt kézzel írt, ami személyi problémákról szolt, és volt géppel írt, ami a fentieket tartalmazta.

A levél előző felverte a port késztünk. Elérkezünk ahhoz a pillanathoz, amikor a cselekvés megszervezésére kellett lépni. Kezd cseperetokra szakadni a hallgatók, van aki helyesli, van aki elveti a puszta felhívást. Az egész ügyet fokozatosan Kiss Tamás és Lejtényi András II. é. joghallgatók karolják fel, és állnak az ellenzék élére. A levél követő néhány órával jötték hozzám és amikor a Jégkúnyok cukrázsa előttem, Lejtényi és Kiss léptek ki az utcán. Ők engem nem ismertek fel. Mikor elváltak volna, egyetemisták egy pár percig beszélgettek nálunk, én az ablakon nézelődtem befelé. E néhány perces beszélgetés alatt hallottam először a MEKESZ-ről, tehát kettőjük fejében igen csak akkora megmozgott a MEKESZ szervezés gondolata. Másnap kedd /okt. 15-én/ már a karra való bejárásunk után másodjára nyilvánosságra is hozták tervüket. Tervüket azal indokolták, hogy a DUISZ-nek se hívja volt, nem töltötte be feladatát, nem állította ki az egyetemisták speciális igényeit stb. A MEKESZ. szervezésében a jogi karral Abrudai László, Tóth László és Kiss György /mindeharcos barátságos / kapcsolatok bele. Október 16-án kezembe pedig nagygyűlést hívtak össze az Asy terem léveg becsúsz karl épület nagytermében. A nagygyűlésen mind egyetem részt vett. A gyűlésen Kiss Tamás elnökelt, a MEKESZ elnöki tervéről Lejtényi András szolt be, majd utána következtek a beszámoló-
lések.

document 30

A report of an agent about the first period of an independent student organisation coming from under (later called AHUCS) which was written and used during the investigation and retaliation

- 2./ Szovjet-magyar viszony rendezése az egyenjogúság alapján,
- 3./ Emlékezetem szerint utalt a szovjet csapatok kivonására,
- 4./ vagyis egyik pont a szovjet csapatok kivonását tartalmazta.
- 5./ Litkos külkereskedelmi és gazdasági szerződések nyilvános-
ságra hozatala,
- 6./ Új országgyűlési képviselői választásokat tartsanak,
- 7./ Nyílt tárgyaláson vonják felelősségre Farkas Mihályt és tár-
sait,
- 8./ Kossuth-címer legyen a hivatalos címer,
- 9./ Egyetemi autonómiát,
- 10./ Idegen nyelvek fakultatív oktatása,
- 11./ Katonai oktatás óraszámainak csökkentése,
- 12./ A képzés megszüntetése a gazdasági élet minden területén
- 13./ A marxizmus óraszámainak csökkentése.

Végül csatlakozásra szólították fel a jelenlévőket. Arra is utal
hogy az ország többi egyetemeinek is megküldték a MEFESZ szer-
vezeti szabályzatát és program-tervezetét, ezenkívül politikai
követeléseiket.

Az egész felszólalása 20-25 percig tartott és az általa ismer-
tetett javaslatokat a jelenlévők többsége helyesléssel fogadta.
Ezek egyrésze az Építőipari Műszaki Egyetem gyűlése által elfo-
gadott követelések határozatban helyt kaptak.

Kérdés: A jegyzőkönyvben már megemlített szegedi küldöttön ki-
vül jelen volt-e és felelőszalt-e másik szegedi küldött?

Felelet: Másik szegedi küldöttől nem tudok, ekkor a naggyü-
lésen nem szólalt fel, de nem is láttam.

Kérdés: Kíván-e még a szegedi küldöttel kapcsolatosan egyebet
elmondani?

Felelet: A fentieken kívül egyebet elmondani nem tudok.

A jegyzőkönyvet lezárom!

Vallomásomat minden kényszerítő eszköz nélkül tettem meg. A
jegyzőkönyv vallomásomat helyesen tartalmazza, melyet elolvasás
után helybenhagyólag aláírok.

ÚJMÓDI BUVÁR KUND

Túl a mezőn, hol Záhony áll,
És Budapest falainál,
Ki népe zajlik ott?
Nagy Imre föl! hát föl magyar!
Ellenhad az, mely vést akar,
Ellenség zajlik ott.

Ő az, ki láncotalpon halad,
És száz tankot és száz hadat
Hoz, oh hon, ellened.
A főgőz Gerő az, ki rád
Hoz háborút és hoz halált,
S bízik, hogy eltemet.

Nagy Imre, Kádár! föl magyar!
Festhez kell most a férfikar,
A főváros remeg.
S melyik magyar nem megy, ha kell?
Munkás, diák mind hadba kel,
Mind harcon termenek.

Nagy Imre s Tildy hangja szól :
"Csaták miatt hogy nyughatol
Hű Kádár, jó öreg?
Teremt-e isten több magyart?
Fegyver helyett öklünk maradt
S a benzines üveg."

S fellázad Győr, Miskolc, Csepel,
E sok "fabiszta" harora kel,
Mint tenger és vihar.
Munkás, diák egy frontba állt,
S a szabadságért száz halált
Halt Pesten a magyar.

Csak Kádár, ki nem háborog,
De gyáván, félve mocorog,
Mint patkány a lyukon :
"Halló, Imre, majd ha éj jövend,
Es Pest fölé száll néma esend,
Hű Kádár megpuccol."

Csekély a szó, hisz a vitéz
Legott az árulásra kész,
A tett jobban beszél.
S Kádárunk nem oly ostoba,
Hogy mikor vészben a haza,
Ne futna ruszikkért.

Futása, mint patkányoké,
Kelet felé, Szolnok felé
Robog magányosan.
Gépfegyver és rakétafel
A tájon távol és közel,
S ötezer tank rohan.

Ki az, ki az éj szörnyekint
A bős tankokra föltekint,
S Júdásnak ültözik?
Ki vagy te, aki jár az alatt
Eladni a szabad magyart,
Ki vártán örködik?

S láncotalpak osztrénésin át
Ruszkiknak vélni táborát,
Az alkut megkötik.
És Kádár áruló gyanánt,
Meglelve patkány-önmagát
Egy tankban felbukik.

És Kádár apró dögél
Közül münlich így kérdezi:
"Mi dolgod ott alatt?"
"Münlich! a népet irtom, oh,
Igy váaz ki a reakció,
És hatalmunk marad!"

Szól Kádár, - s ő az -: "Nézz oda!
A szovjet baráti hada
Tolong már Pest iránt!
Nézd Budapestet, mint remeg,
A hazát e kar fúrta meg,
Hurrá! Eljen a Párt!"

S ágyuk tüzénél münlich néz.
Es Pesten minden romba vész,
A falak omlanak.
Láncotalpak futnak el vadon,
Es száz tankon, száz autón
Ruszkik lapítanak.

És Kádár? Tankra költözött.
Ilyet hat gazember között
Moszkva könnyen talál.
S túl a mezőn, típrott hazán,
Es Budapest falainál
Kádár kormányja áll.

document 32

An illegal poem from November 1956 (unknown author)

MSZMP Szegedi Ideiglenes Intézőbizottságának

S z e g e d.

A hozzánk megküldött kérdésekre jelentésünket a következőkben tesszük meg:

A./ Pártszervező munka helyzete.

Létszám, összetétel, hangulat, politikai munka.

Jelenleg is csakugy mint a megalakuláskor /március 6./ a főiskolai MSZMP szervezet taglétszáma 9.

A volt M.D.P. tagok közül azokkal, akik nem kompromittálták magukat az ellenforradalom idején, elbeszélgettünk. Ebben a munkában minden párttagunk résztvett, és a szerzett tapasztalatairól taggyűlésen beszámolt. Az így kialakult kép alapján a volt MDP tagok a következőképpen reagáltak közeledésünkre.

Voltak olyanok, akik kijelentették, hogy többé nem akarnak politikázni, mások viszont beismerik, hogy MSZMP-ben már nem lehet papírszerűen tagnak lenni ők viszont nem akarnak és nem is tudnak harcos kommunistákká válni. Volt párttagjaink egy értékes része azonban kommunista maradt, de egyelőre bizonyos gatlásokkal küzdök. Ezek közül majdnem mind kérni fogja átigazolását, de egyelőre megfigyelő álláspontba helyezkednek. Ez nagytöbbségükönél nem a karrierista erőviszony mérlegelése, hanem az az álláspont, hogy amíg a Főiskolán egyes nem megfelelő magatartású személyeket megtérnek felsőbb párt és állami fórumaink, és amíg nem segítik ezen keresztül is a felsőoktatásban működő becsületes párttagjainkat, ők az MDP ilyenirányu hibáit vélik felfedezni az MSZMP-ben is. Tekintve, hogy több jó szakemberünknek ez a véleménye, alapszervezetünk egyik legfőbb munkájának tartjuk az ő politikai nevelésüket és ennek tudható be, hogy közülük már néhányan a legközelebbi taggyűlésen már mint belépni kívánó tagokkal foglalkozunk.

A pártönkivüliek hangulata nagyjából megegyezik az előbb felsorolt véleményekkel, bár rájuk inkább az első kettő/nem akarnak politikázni és nem is tudnak, és nem is akarnak harcos kommunistává lenni/ jellemző. Kormányunk és pártunk politikája iránt nagy többségük egyre inkább érdeklődik és vannak már olyan pártönkivüliek is, akiket szimpatizánsaink közé sorolhatunk.

A Főiskolai kommunisták és becsületes dolgozók munkakedvét nagyon károsan kerdi befolyásolni az a hír, hogy a Művelődésiügyi Minisztérium ismét foglalkozik intézményünk megszüntetésének, ill. az egyetemmel való fuzionálásának kérdésével anélkül, hogy az itteni párt- és állami vezetést ebben a kérdésben hallgathatná véleményét.

B./ A párt vezetés szerepe.

Milyen az együttműködés az állami vezetőkkel?

Az állami vezető a pártszervezet elnökével a problémákat megbeszéli a pártszervezet elnöke javaslataival, megítélésével segíti az állam vezetés munkáját.

document 33

A letter of the president of the College of Pedagogical Studies, Károly Lerner on 27th March 1957, in which he reports to the temporary managing committee of Hungarian Socialist Worker Party in Szeged. Answer 'E' can call one's attention: according to Lerner the aims to 'create a communist core within AHUCS'. This core got the task of destroying the alliance from inside

C./Milyen a tanári testület megatartása,hány fő disszidált?

Ezeket honnan pótolták?

A tanárok többsége a szocializmus építése mellett van, belátja azt, hogy jó általános iskolai tanárok képzéséhez elengedhetetlen feltétel, ha ők maguk nemcsak szakmailag, hanem politikailag is biztos talpon állnak. Mindinkább igyekeznek tisztázni az októberi események során felmerült problémákat. Ehhez segítséget adnak a párttagok és azok az elvtársak is, akik ugyan még nem párttagok, de világosan látják az októberi eseményekben az ellenforradalom szerepét.

1 fő disszidált: Szívós Mária tanársegéd. Pótlása még nem történt meg. Az Egyetem marxista tanszékéről átvettük a történelmi tanszék-re Nagy István tanársegédet, azonban szakmai tudása még nem elég ahhoz, hogy előadásokat is tudjon tartani.

D./Milyen a tanulmányi fegyelem, milyen a tanulmányi előmenetel?

A hallgatók kevés kivételtől eltekintve az órákat rendszeresen látogatják, folyamatosan tanulnak, különösen a III. évesek. Az arra vall, hogy az októberi események során a főiskolán a fegyelem nem lazult. A tanulmányi előmenetelről számszerű képet nem adunk, mivel a félévi vizsgák nem voltak kötelezők. A félévet a tanszékek index-számlálásba zárták. A hallgatók egy kis százaléka - bár a félévi vizsga nem volt kötelező - vizsgázott a félévi tárgyakból, hogy így az évvégi vizsgák számát csökkentse. Többségükre azonban ez nem mondható el.

E./Milyen az ifjúsági szervezet tevékenysége?

A Párt segítése az ifjúsági szervek felé?

A pártszervező munkán, soraink megtisztításának az egységessé tételé nek e kérdésén kívül pártszervezetünk most különösen nagy súlyt helyez a MEFESZ szervezésére. Március 27-én este 7 órakor lesz a MEFESZ alakuló gyűlése, amelyen mintegy 100 hallgató vesz majd részt; számításaink szerint ezek közül mintegy 30-40 hallgató jelentkezik felvételre. A fiatal párttagjaink/hallgatók és tanársegédek/ is pártmunkaként a MEFESZ-ben való tevékenységet kapják. Egyenlőre csak 2 hallgató és 1 tanársegéd az, aki párttagként vesz részt a szervező munkában. Célunk, egy kommunista mag kialakítása a MEFESZ-en belül párttag fiataljaink segítségével.

F./A Főiskola egyéb problémái; a Városi Intéző Bizottság segítségével kapcsolatos vélemény.

A Főiskola egyik fő problémájának tartja azt, hogy a hallgatósággal az októberi események során felmerülő kételyeket tisztázza, megérttesse velük annak lényegét és szocialista pedagógushoz illő magatartásra neveljük őket. A Párt vezetőszeropének biztosításáért amely még nehézségekbe ütközik, mi főiskolai kommunisták mindent elkövetünk és arra kérjük a felsőbb pártvezetveket, hogy az eddiginél tevékenyebben álljanak melénk.

Szeged, 1957. évi március hó 27-én

Lerner Károly
/Lerner Károly/
főiskolai igazgató.

Művelődésügyi Minisztérium.	<u>T i t k o s</u>
0019/3/1957.szám.	
Tárgy: Egyes adminisztratív intézkedések megvalósítása és egyetemen és főiskolákon.	
Valamennyi egyetem, főiskola/ Szállók kar Dékániának / és főiskola Igazgatójának, Székhelyén.	
Az egyetemi élet megszilárdítását előző intézkedések, valamint a megalkult MSZMP és KISZ szervezetek munkája nyomán megindult az egyetemeken és főiskolákon a politikai kibontakozás. A hallgatók és oktatók sorai között azonban még mindig találhatók olyan személyek, akik az ellenforradalmi időszakban szerepet játszottak az állam ellenében, megtagadva, ellenséges megnyilatkozást követve a tisztultabb eszmélet-politikai légkör kialakulását. Ezért a politikai felvilágosító munka mellett bizonyos adminisztratív intézkedésekre is szükség van. Ezzel kapcsolatban a következőkre hívom fel Raktör / Dékán, Igazgató / Elvtársait:	
1. Fegyelmi eljárás után vonja felelősségre azokat az oktatókat, dolgozókat és hallgatókat, akik az ellenforradalmi felkeltés során hangadó szerepet vittek és ma is káros politikai tevékenységet fejtenek ki. Ugyanígy vonja felelősségre azokat, akik ellenforradalmi szervezkedésben vagy ellenforradalmi cselekmények végrehajtásában közreműködtek.	
Ha a fegyelmi eljárás során cselekmény elkövetésének nyomára kerül fel, a büntető feljelentést a fegyelmi eljárástól függetlenül meg kell tenni.	
A hallgatók ügyeit vizsgáló fegyelmi bizottságokban biztosítani kell a MSZMP és a KISZ, az oktatók ügyeivel foglalkozó fegyelmi bizottságokban pedig biztosítani kell a MSZMP Intéző Bizottságának képviselését.	
A Minisztérium hatáskörébe tartozó oktatókra és dolgozókra vonatkozó bejelentéseket a Művelődésügyi Minisztériumnak kell feltérjesztani.	
2. a/ Az októberi események miatt, ill. után több egyetemen alkalmatlanság vagy előírtak ellenében olyan személyeket is, akiknek jelenléte politikai szempontból nem kívánatos. Ezért minden ilyen jellegű intézkedés felülvizsgálandó.	
b/ Számos esetben előfordult, hogy az engedély nélkül külföldre távozott volt egyetemi hallgatók helyét a minisztérium tilalma ellenére újonnan felvett hallgatókkal töltötték be, ill. korábban kizárt hallgatókat törvénytellenesen adtak engedélyt tanulmányaik folytatására. Az így keletkezett hibák kiküszöbölése céljából az október óta történt összes felvételt felül kell vizsgálni, és azokat a hallgatókat, akik törvénytellenesen kerültek az egyetemre vagy továbbítók egyéb okból nem kívánatosak, el kell távolítani.	
E vizsgálatokat az egyetem vezetői a MSZMP, ill. a MSZMP és a KISZ Intéző Bizottsága képviselőinek bevonásával folytatásukra kell.	

document 34

The infamous circular letter of the ministry titled 'taking certain administrative steps at the universities and colleges' which were justified by the following sentence: 'there are still some persons among the students and teachers who played a role in the counter-revolutionary period and whose presence, behaviour and hostile statements hamper the formation of cleaner ideological-political atmosphere'. This instruction of 19 April started the final period of clearing the universities, determined the circumstances of the disciplinary trials and the work had to be supervised by Hungarian Socialist Worker's Party and Young Communist League. An interesting item of the document that the official stamp of the Ministry of Education was still decorated by the Kossuth arms.

3. a kerekasztali a KESZP és a KISZ képviselőivel együtt vizsgálják felül az ösztöndíjuttatásokat abból a célból, hogy olyan hallgatók akik az egyetemen káros politikai tevékenységet fejtenek ki, ösztöndíjra ne kapjanak.

Budapest, 1957. április hó 19.



A kiadvány hiteles:

irodavezető.

Szigeti József sk.

a miniszter első helyettese

Az Oktatási Minisztérium részéről

Értkezési: 1957. APR. 23.

1957. 4. 19. Székely

Felvezető:

Übörgő:

Melléklet:

Válasz:

Határidő:

Vonatkozó:

1. Egyre adu...
2. ...
3. ...

Ép. 8.17.5.20. V.

R. 9.17.5.20. V.

A budapesti fővárosi bíróság.

F.XII. 972/1957/15.szám.

A Népköztársaság nevében!

A budapesti fővárosi bíróság Budapestán, 1957. évi május hó 6. 8 és 10. napján tartott nyilvános tárgyaláson meghozta a következő

í t é l e t e t :

Az 1957. évi január 30. napja óta előzetes letartóztatásban lévő:

Arnold Miklós, aki 1935. október 2. napján Budapesten született, III. San Marco utca 58. szám alatt lakik, magyar állampolgár, nőtlen, műgyatani hallgató, havi 140 Ft. ösztöndíjat kap, vagyonatlan, katonai nem volt, apja: Arnold Károly, anyja: nék. Szörényi Gabriella, büntetlen előzetes,

az 1957. évi január hó 19. napja óta előzetes letartóztatásban lévő:

Kovács Albert, aki 1936. április 10. napján Budapesten született, II. Duna utca 5/b. szám alatt lakik, magyar állampolgár, nőtlen, a szegedi Pedagógiai Főiskola hallgatója, vagyonatlan, apja: Kovács Albert, anyja: Braun Magdolna, büntetlen előzetes,

az 1957. évi február 5. napja óta előzetes letartóztatásban lévő:

Marosi Mihály, aki 1933. december 3. napján Pilisvörösten született, Budapest, V. Bank utca 4. szám alatt lakik, magyar állampolgár, nőtlen, a Kertészeti és Szőlészeti Főiskola hallgatója, havi 320 Ft. ösztöndíjat kap, vagyonatlan, apja: Marosi Mihály, anyja: Kapornai Erzsébet, büntetlen,

az 1957. február 18. napja óta előzetes letartóztatásban lévő:

Arnold László, aki 1938. július 18. napján Budapesten született, III. San Marco utca 58. szám alatt lakos, magyar állampolgár, nőtlen, segéd munkás az Orion és Szerviz Gyárban, havi keresete 800 Ft, vagyonatlan, apja: Arnold Károly, anyja: nék. Szörényi Gabriella, büntetlen,

az 1957. évi február 18. napja óta előzetes letartóztatásban lévő:

Horvath László, aki 1938. február 12. napján Budapesten született, Zapor u. 2/c. alatt lakik, magyar állampolgár, nőtlen, segéd laboráns az Országos Gyógyszeripari Kutató Intézetnél, havi keresete 650 Ft, vagyonatlan, apja: Horvath László, anyja: Simonits Margit, büntetlen,

document 35

The sentence of Miklós Arnold (University of Technology), Albert Kovács (College of Pedagogical Studies), Mihály Marosi (College of Horti- and Viniculture), László Arnold (unskilled worker), Károly Jenei (College of Pedagogical Studies) and Zoltán Nagy (College of Pedagogical Studies)



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az 1957. január 19. napja óta előzetes letartóztatásban lévő:

Jenei Károly, aki 1937. november 8. napján Szerepen született /Hajdu megye/, Szeged, Sztálin körút 95.szám alatt lakik, a szegedi Pedagógiai Főiskola hallgatója, havi ösztöndíja 550 Ft, apja: Jenei Károly, anyja: Elek Ilona, büntetlen,

az 1957.évi január 19. napja óta előzetes letartóztatásban lévő:

Nagy Zoltán, aki 1938. május 24. napján Zabar községben /Nógrád megye/ született, Szeged, Sztálin körút 95.szám alatt lakik, magyar állampolgár, nőtlen, a Szegedi Pedagógiai Főiskola hallgatója, havi ösztöndíja 470 Ft, vagyontalan, apja: Nagy István, anyja: Gyulai Erzsébet, büntetlen,

h ü n ö s ö k : a népi-demokratikus államrend elleni izgatás bűntettében,

e z é r t a bíróság:

Arnold Miklós 1 /egy/ évi és 6 /hat/ hónapi börtönbüntetésre, egyes jogainak gyakorlásától 2 /kettő/ évi eltiltásra,

✓ Kovács Albert 1 /egy/ évi és 4 /négy/ hónapi börtönbüntetésre, egyes jogainak gyakorlásától 2 /kettő/ évi eltiltásra,

Marosi Mikály, 10 /tíz/ hónapi börtönre,

Arnold László, 6 /hat/ hónapi börtönre,

Horváth László, 5 /öt/ hónapi börtönre,

✓ Jenei Károly, 5 /öt/ hónapi börtönre,

✓ Nagy Zoltán, 3 /három/ hónapi börtönre i t é l i .

Az előzetes letartóztatásban eltöltött időt valamennyi vádlott börtönbüntetésébe beszámítja, és ezzel Nagy Zoltán börtönbüntetését kitöltöttnek tekinti.

A bűnjelként lefoglalt és a Budapesti Fővárosi Bíróság Gazdasági Hivatalában Bj.205/1957.szám alatt bevételezett "Remtor" gyátmánya táskairőgépet tulajdonosának Arnold Károlynak kiadni rendel.

Az eddig felmerült bűnügyi költséget a vádlottak kötelesek az államnak megtéríteni: az alábbiak szerint.

Horváth László 120 /egyszázhusz/ Ft, Nagy Zoltán 100 /egyszáz/ Ft, Marosi Mikály 14 /tizennégy/ Ft, Kovács Albert 14 /tizennégy/ Ft, Arnold Miklós, Kovács Albert, Marosi Mikály és Horváth László egyetemlegesen 18 /tizennyolc/ Ft-ot.
A vádlottakat terheli az ezután esetleg felmerülő bűnügyi költség is.

B.XII.972/1957/15.sz.

I n d e k o l á s :

I.

Arnold Miklós, Kovács Albert, Arnold László és Horváth László értelmiségi családból, Jenei Károly alkalmazotti családból származik, édesapja alacsony beosztású községi tisztviselő volt, jelenleg gimnáziumi gondnok, anyja Közért-ben kiszolgáló. Marosi Mihály 6 koldos szegényparaszt család gyermeke, Nagy Zoltán apja munkás.

A vádlottak valamennyien gimnáziumot végeztek. Arnold Miklós és Kovács Albert 1954-ben tették érettségi vizsgát, az egyetemen akkor nem vették fel őket, ezért Arnold Miklós vegyész-laboráns lett az Építéstudomány Intézetben, Kovács Albert okoroldóként dolgozott egy vállalatnál, majd onkráz mestermegest tanult. Mindkettőjüket 1956 őszén felvették az egyetemre. Arnold Miklós a műegyetem, Kovács Albert a szegedi Pedagógiai Főiskola hallgatója.

Marosi Mihály a Kertészeti és Szőlészeti Főiskola harmadéves hallgatója, Jenei Károly és Nagy Zoltán a szegedi Pedagógiai Főiskola első éves hallgatói.

Arnold Lászlót és Horváth Lászlót nem vették fel az egyetemre, ezért Arnold László az Orion Gyárban helyezkedett el segéd munkárként, Horváth László a Gyógyszerkutató Intézetben segédlaboráns.

Arnold Miklós 150 Ft, Marosi Mihály 320 Ft, Jenei Károly 550 Ft, Nagy Zoltán 470 Ft, ösztöndíjat kapnak. Arnold László havi keresete 800 Ft, Horváth László keresete 650 Ft.

A vádlottak közül Arnold Miklós a vegyészet, Kovács Albert a képzőművészet, Jenei Károly az irodalom, Nagy Zoltán pedig a zene területén tevékenyes emberek, eddigi tanulmányaikhoz képest átlagon felüli eredményeket értek el.

Kovács Albert, Marosi Mihály, Jenei Károly és Nagy Zoltán szüleitől távol folytatják tanulmányaikat.

Arnold Miklós és Arnold László testvérek, az Árpád gimnáziumban folytatták középiskolai tanulmányaikat. Ebből az iskolából gyerekkori barátság fűzi Arnold Miklóst Kovács Alberthez, Arnold Lászlót pedig Horváth Lászlóhoz, az iskolából ismerik és tartják fenn a jó kapcsolatot Marosi Mihállyal is.

II.

A vádlottak az 1956. októberi ellenforradalmi eseményekben nem vettek részt, ez idő alatt kollégiumban, illetve családjuk lakásán tartózkodtak. Marosi Mihály október 28-án és november 4-én között a Kertészeti és Szőlészeti Főiskola mint nemzetőr pontkával felszerelve szolgálatot teljesített.

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Arnold Miklós 1956 decemberében barátjának Szabó Miklósnak felvetette, hogy a kormány szerintük értelmiség ellenes politikájával szembeni tiltakozásul röplapokat kellene készíteni, a technikai lebonyolítás nehézségei és Szabó Miklós kuzódózása miatt ezek az ötletet nem váltották valóra.

Arnold Miklós, Kovács Albert, Arnold László, Horváth László és Marosi Mihály 1956 december 31-en a szilvesztert az Arnold fiúk unokatestvérének Benkes Gáboréknál töltötték, 20 főnyi baráti társaságban.

Éjfél-tájban összehívták az udvari szobában baráti beszélgetésre, a szó politikai kérdésekre terelődött, melynek során meg tárgyalták, hogy a Kádár kormány politikájával sok kérdésben nem értenek egyet, s ezért "tenni kellene valamit". Felvetették a röplapkészítés gondolatát, ezt valamennyien jó ötletnek tartották. Konkrét formában akkor éjjel nem beszéltek meg, hogy az ötletet, hogy fogják valóságra váltani.

Az éjszaka folyamán Arnold Miklós külön beszélgetett Marosi Mihállyal, aki megemlítette, hogy egy lakásban lakik egy Róz Ferenc nevű írógépszeressel, akinek foglalkozásánál fogva módja és lehetősége volna röplapok stencilezésére, és ezt a munkát vállalná. Megállapodtak, hogy rövidesen bemutatja Arnold Miklóst Róznek.

A röplapok készítése és tartalma:

Az első röplapokat január 4-én Arnold Miklós fogalmazta, majd otthon az édesapja tiskairógépén 30 példányban legépelte. Ez a röplap a nyomozati iratok között nem fekszik el. Tartalma: - Arnold Miklós állítása szerint - hosszú szívos politikai harcra való felhívás és Nagy Imre miniszterelnökségének követelése volt.

Január 6-a körül Arnold Miklós új röplapot fogalmazott; "Az aralom újra a moszkoviták kezében van" kezdetű, a nyomozati iratoknál elfekvő röplap a "Kádár kormány Kádár banda, csoport" intézkedéseinek szabotálására, a fegyverek megcsondult használatára, valamint fokozott ellenállásra szólít fel. A röplapban a fegyverek felhasználására vonatkozó felhívás Róz indítványára került.

Ezidőben Kovács Albert is fogalmazott 2 röplapot, melyek közül az egyik tartalma ismeretlen, a másik a nyomozati iratoknál elfekszik. "A moszkoviták ismét" kezdetű röplap az MSZMP és az egypártrendszer ellen izgat; a párt tagjait hazaférlőnek, a szovjet imperializmus képviselőinek nyilvánítja. Felhívása szerint a párt tagjait ki kell közsíteni és csak Nagy Imrének kell engedelmessé válni.

Ezeket a röplapokat Arnold Miklós és Kovács Albert Arnoldék lakásán, Arnold Miklós édesapjának tiskairógépén, annak tudta és beleegyezése nélkül, távollétében a délelőtti órákban, kb. 500 példányban legépeltek.

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Arnold Miklós az általa január 4-én és 6-án fogalmazott röplapok 1-2 példányával két alkalommal járt Marosi Mihály lakására. Marosi beutazta Réz Ferencnek és együtt megvitatták a röplapok tartalmát. Réz indítványa volt, hogy a röplapok fegyveres felkiáltást is tartalmazzanak. Réz a két alkalommal a sokszorosítást, - lehetőség hiányában - maga vállalta, de ígéretet tett, ha módja lesz rá értesíti Arnold Miklóst.

Arnold Miklós néhány nap múlva ismét elment Marosi lakására az ott jelenlévő Réz Ferenc ekkor már vállalkozott a röplap stencilezésére. Hároman együtt megfogalmazták egy új röplapot, a nyomozati iratoknál előforduló "Barátaink" kezdettű. Ez a röplap is fokozott ellenállásra szólít fel a "Kádár banda ellen", mely a Szovjetunió keszítette diktatúrájával együtt a nemzet egyetlen ellensége.

A röplap aláírása "Egyetemisták Illegális Szervezete". Az aláírás Réz ötlése volt azzal a céllal, hogy azt a látszatot keltsék, hogy valamilyen szervezet áll a röplap mögött, bár ilyen szervezet nem létezett.

Ezt a röplapot Réz Ferenc sokszorosította - ismeretlen helyen, s abból Marosi Mihály kb. 1500 példányt elvitt Arnold Miklós lakására. A röplapokból Marosi többet magánál tartott.

A röplapok terjesztése:

Az Arnold Miklós által január 4-én 30 példányban készített röplapokat Arnold Miklós, Kovács Albert, Arnold László és Horváth László a készítés napján együttes sáta alkalmazásával szétoszták a városban.

A "Moszkoviták", "az urak", a "barátaink" kezdettű röplapokból Arnold Miklós három ízben adott át az öccsének 50-50 db-ot. Arnold László ezeket a röplapokat két alkalommal Horváth László barátjával együtt, ezen kívül egy alkalommal egyedül szórta szét a városban. Arnold László munkahelyére az Orion gyárba is vitt ezen röplapok egyikéből egy példányt, és azt az öltözőben megmutatta Barabos István munkatársának, azt állítva, hogy a villamoson találta.

A röplapokat Arnold Miklós és Kovács Albert is terjesztették, külön-külön és együtt is, utcán villamoson, telefonfülkében és kapualjban szétoszták a röplapokat.

Január elején Kovács Albert értesítést kapott, hogy a Főiskolán megindult a tanítás. Elutazása előtt megbeszélte Arnold Miklóssal, hogy a röpcédulákból Szegedre is visz magával, és ott is folytatja a terjesztést.

Arnold Miklós a gépett röplapokból, valamint a stencilezett röplapokból 250-250 db-ot elvitt Kovács lakására. Két csoportba becsomagolták a röplapokat és arra két korábban diákolált szegedi diák: Amadini Emil és Ács Vilmos nevét írták. Megbeszélésük szerint, ha Kovácsot utcánban igazoltatják, vagy nála több a röplapokat megtalálják azt fogja állítani, hogy a két

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Csomagot a Nyugai pályaudvaron egy ismeretlen személy adta át neki, kérve, hogy továbbítsa azokat diáktársaiknak.

Kovács január 14-én érkezett meg Szegedre. Másnap a kollégium folyosóján találkozott Jenei Károllyal, akit a kollégiumból ismert. Elvitette neki a két diáktársuk nevére csomag érkezett, azokat nem tudja átadni, mert társaik diszidáltak, a röplapokat terjesztani kellene. Jenei vállalkozott a terjesztésre, anélkül, hogy a röplapok tartalmát előzetesen ismerte volna. Ezt követően Kovács átadott kb. 100 db. röpcédulát, valamint egy ragasztótüveget, gumidugóval Jeneinek.

Jenei aznap este kiment a városba és néhány röpcédulát kireagasztott.

Ezt követő napon Jenei a vele egy széken és egy kollégiumban lakó Nagy Zoltánnak elvitette, hogy van röpcédulája és azt ki fogja ragasztani. Nagy Zoltán - anélkül, hogy a röpcédulák tartalmát ismerte volna - vállalkozott rá, hogy egy alkalommal elcsúsz segíteni Jeneinek. Szombaton, január 19-én este Jenei hívta a társalgóban olvasó Nagy Zoltánt, hogy menjenek röpcédulát ragasztani. A sötét folyosón átadta Nagynak a röpcédulákat, aki a zsebébe tette azokat. Együtt kimentek az utcára és a város különböző pontján kb. 20-25 cédulát kireagasztottak. Nagy Zoltán a röpcédulákat csak ragasztás közben futotta át.

Kireagasztás közben Jenei Károlyt és Nagy Zoltánt tetten érték a karhatalmi beosztottak. Nagy Zoltán a felszólításukra megállt, Jenei hazaszaladt. Mindkettőjüket letartóztatták, ezt követően ajánlkoztak, hogy segítenek az általuk kireagasztott röpcédulákat felkutatni és lekaparni, Nagy Zoltán részt is vett ebben a munkában.

Még aznap, 19-én este letartóztatták Kovács Albertet is, aki kezdetben az előzetesen megbeszält történetet mondta el ímezini-vel és Accsal kapcsolatban, később elmondta a röpcédulák eredetét.

Kovács letartóztatásáról Arnold Miklós Kovács szüleitől szerzett tudomást. A lakásán lévő röplapokat, indigókat elégette, értesítette Marosit a történetekről, ezt követően Réz Ferenc disszidált, a vádlottakat pedig letartóztatták.

Arnold Miklós súlyos szervi szívbetegben szenved, betegsége gennyes mandulagyulladás után fellépett heveny sok-izületi csúszhoz léte-
sült. Állapota jelenleg kórházi kezelés utáni konzervált, állan-
dó orvosi kezelésre szorul.

Kovács Albert gyermekkorában gégeszűkület miatt légzőszervi
esett keresztül, melyből jelenleg is szipoly maradt vissza a
gégéjén, ezért légzési nehézségei vannak, ezen kívül szívban-
telon is kimutatható mála.

Marosi Mihálynak, görcsös jellegű migrénos fejfájásai vannak.

Horváth László egyik szemén csak fényt lát, tárgyat nem, látási
nehézségek fejlődési zavarokat okoztak, zárkózott, visszahúzódó
egénység. Testi és lelki fejlettsége korához képest gyermekes.

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"infantilis személyiség" és ez akaratának megfelelő magatartásában, megfelelő ítélőképesség hiányában korlátozza.

IV.

A vádlottak a tárgyaláson ténybeli beismerő vallomást tettek, bűnösségüket elismerték, illetve hibásnak érezték magukat.

Védekezésük szerint cselekményüket a tömeghangulat hatása alatt követték el, nem a népi demokrácia megdöntésére törektek, szocializmust akartak, a fegyveres harcot elítélték. Az időközben eltelt időben rájöttek arra, hogy a rölapok tartalma helytelen, nem segíti elő a kibontakozást. Jenei arra hivatkozott, hogy csak átolvasta a rölapokat, azok tulajdonképpen tartalmát fel sem fogta. Nagy Zoltán azt állította, hogy nem is olvasta a rölapokat, csak a rendőrségen tartóztatása után. Valamennyien gyerekes dolognak tartják tettüket és ma már elítélik.

V.

A fővárosi bírósága vádlottakkal szemben a BHÖ.2.pont a. és b./ alpontjába foglalt népi demokratikus államrend elleni izgatás büntetése miatt emelt vádat a tárgyaláson, Nagy Zoltán vádlott kivételével - valamennyi vádlottal szemben a BHÖ.8.pontjába foglalt népi demokratikus államrend megdöntésére való felhívás büntetése módosította.

A bíróság a vádlottak bűnösségét az eredeti váddal egyezően a módosított vádtól eltérően a BHÖ.2.pont a. és b./ alpontjába foglalt népi demokratikus államrend elleni izgatás büntetésének minősítette.

A BHÖ.2.pont a./ alpontjába foglalt bűncselekményt az követi el, aki népi demokratikus államrend, vagy népköztársaság megváltoztatására lázít.

A BHÖ.8.pontjába foglalt büntetést az követi el, aki a népi demokratikus államrend, vagy népköztársaság megdöntésére irányuló cselekményre, mozgalmra, vagy szervezkedésre izgat, mászt felbujt. Az e pontban foglalt büntett BHÖ.1.pontba foglalt büntett előkészületi cselekménye.

A BHÖ.2.pont a./ alpontja és a 8.pontba foglalt bűncselekmény között az elhatárolás nehéz feladat, mert a két törvényhely szóhasználatában is azonos cselekményt a népi demokratikus államrend megváltoztatására való lázítást illetve a megdöntésre való izgatást, felhívást rendel büntetni.

A két bűncselekmény között az elhatárolást a bíróság abban találta, hogy míg a 2.pont a./ alpontja szerinti büntett általánosabban jellegű lázítást tartalmaz a népköztársaság megváltoztatására, addig a 8.pont megvalósításához a megváltoztatás mód-szerére is kiterjedő konkrét felhívás szükséges.

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A vádlottak által készített, illetve terjesztett rölapok tartalma általános jellegű felhívást tartalmaz a népköztársaság megváltoztatására: ilyenek "a fegyvereket megmondókat használják, a fegyvertelenek szabotálják el a Kádár banda rendelkezését, fokozott ellenállásra szólítanak fel mindenkit." felhívások.

A bíróság jogi álláspontja szerint ezek a felhívások, kitételek a népi-demokratikus államrend megváltoztatására léteznek, azonban nem tartalmazzák a népi-demokratikus államrend megdöntésére, megsemmisítésére, szervezkedésére konkrét felhívást. Ezért a bíróság a vádlottak cselekményét a BHO.2.pontja a./ alpontja szerint elítélte.

A röpiratok egyik tartalma a BHO.2.pont b./ alpontjába foglalt népi-demokratikus államrend, és annak alapintézményei elleni gyűlöletre izgató. Ezért a bíróság a vádlottak cselekményét a 2.pont b./ alpontjába ütköztetve is találta.

A védelem vitatta az izgatás büntettségének fennfőzését, arra való hivatkozással, hogy a vádlottaknak nem volt szándékában a népi-demokratikus államrend megdöntésére párt felhívni. Az izgatás büntetése azonban megvalósult, ha a röpirat objektíve alkalmas az izgatás megvalósítására. A vádlottak által készített és terjesztett röpiratok tartalma erre alkalmas volt, a vádlottak tudata átfogta a röpiratok tartalmát, cselekményük tehát az izgatás büntetést megvalósította.

Hogy Zoltán védője arra hivatkozott, hogy védelemnek cselekménye kísérlet, mert a rölapok kiragasztása után rövid idővel lakparták azokat, az izgatás büntetése a kiragasztás tényével befejezett a bíróság álláspontja szerint.

VI.

A bíróság igen nagyfokú társadalomra veszélyességet tulajdonított annak, hogy a vádlottak az izgatás tartalmú rölapokat a hazánkban lezajlott ellenforradalom után, ebben az időszakban követték el, amikor a rend helyreállt, a helyzet konszolidálódott, megindult az építő munka. Jelenkorban a kedélyek még igen felzaklatottak voltak, ebben az időszakban a kormány a népi-demokratikus államrend elleni izgatás fokozott társadalomra veszélyességgel bírt, hátráltatta a kibontakozást. Vizsgálta a bíróság a vádlottak személyiben rejlő társadalomra veszélyességet is. Arra a megállapításra jutott, hogy a vádlottak cselekményének forrása az az eszméi zűrzavar, mely országunkban uralkodott, mely elsősorban a fiatalokat, az egyetemistákat kerítette hatalmába. A vádlottak valamennyien az ellenforradalom eszméi és politikai hatásai alatt állottak, cselekményüket annak hatásai alatt követték el. A vádlottak közül Arnold Miklós, Kovács Albert és Marosi Mihály tudatosan szembentállottak a Kádár-kormányval, a Szovjetunióval, a többiek felfogása, cselekményei nem ütköznek tudatos szembeállítást, hanem a helyzet teljes félreismerését. Megkönnyítette a vádlottak cselekmények elkövetését, hogy az ellenforradalom a szocializmus építésének felzárkózásával lepett fel, és jellemezt decemberben, januárban nyilvánvaló volt, hogy ez csak alapszükség, országos restauráció törekvések leleplezésére, a vádlottak éppen fies-

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tal koruk, politikai tapasztalatlanságuk, járatlanságuk, és a fejükben uralkodó nagyfokú eszméi zűrzavar hatása alatt még januárban sem ismerték fel a helyzetet.

A vádlottak cselekményüket annak súlyát messze aláérték, mivel gyermekes dolognak tartják, ennek a "gyermekes játéknak" azonban a népidemokratikus rendszerre, a szocializmus építésére nagy a veszélye, ezért a megítélése súlyos.

A bíróság a vádlottak cselekményének megítélésénél figyelembe vette a vádlottak fiatalabb korát, Arnold Miklós és Kovács Albert 21 évesek, Arnold László, Horváth László, Jenei Károly és Nagy Zoltán 19 évesek. Bár a vádlottak nem fiatalok, de eddigi életük, az, hogy részben családjuk körében, részben az egyetemen a kollégiumokban az élet nehézségeitől, meg voltak kímélve az élettapasztalatok hiányára és valamennyi vádlottnál koruknál gyerekesebb gondolkodás vezetett. Ezért a bíróság fiatal korukat enyhítő körülményként vette figyelembe, különösen a fiatalok hatását alig megálgatva vádlottak esetében.

Arnold Miklós esetében súlyosbító körülményként értékelte a bíróság a cselekmény alkövetésében betöltött irányító szerepét, igen nyomtatékos enyhítő körülményként vette figyelembe súlyos szívbetegségét. Erre figyelemmel a büncselekmény tárgyi súlyánál lényegesen enyhébb börtönbüntetést szabott ki.

Kovács Albert esetében súlyosbító körülményként értékelte a bíróság, hogy a röplapoknak Szegeden történő terjesztését ő szervezte meg, enyhítő körülményként vette figyelembe betegségét.

Arnold Miklós és Kovács Albert esetében a bíróság úgy találta, hogy betegségük miatt a börtönbüntetés súlyát egészséges embernél sokkal inkább érzik, és számukra viszonylag rövidebb ideig tartó börtönbüntetés is nagyobb súlyú.

Marosi Mihály esetében a bíróság figyelembe vette a röplapstencilezés megvalósításában való fontos szerepét, másrészt viszonylag kisebb tevékenységét.

Arnold László és Horváth László esetében értékelte a bíróság, hogy Arnold Miklós hatása alatt követték el a cselekményüket, akiknek mindketten befolyása alatt állottak. Horváth László esetében korlátozott beszámítási képességét és enyhítő körülményként értékelte a bíróság, valamint mindkettőjükkel a büncselekményben való viszonylag kisebb részvételt.

Jenei Károly és Nagy Zoltán esetében enyhítő körülményként értékelte a bíróság a cselekményben való kisebb részvételt, őszinte megbánásukat és felfedező jellegű beismerő vallomásukat.

A bíróság valamennyi vádlottal szemben alkalmazta a Bt. 51. §-át. Arnold Miklós és Kovács Albert esetében betegségükre tekintettel, Arnold László, Horváth László, Jenei Károly, és Nagy Zoltán esetében pedig fiatal koruk és kisebb szerepük figyelembevételével.

A bíróság a büntetés kiszámításánál döntő szempontként azt tartotta maga előtt, hogy a fiatal tehetségs, pályájuk elején

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Álló, az eszaki zürzavarban súlyos bűncselekményt elkövető fiatal emberekkel szemben elsősorban a nevelés szempontjisi ére vényesüljenek. A büntetés valóban azt a célt szolgálja, hogy a vádlottak a jövőben hasonló bűncselekményektől tartózkodjanak és becsületes dolgozóivá és támaszáivá váljanak a népi demokráciának.

A bíróság a vádlottak által előzetes letartóztatásban töltött időt a börtönbüntetésbe beszámította.

A vádlottakat kötelezte a személyükkel kapcsolatos bűnügyi költségek megtérítésére.

A bíróság a bűnelkövető lefoglalt táskakörögpöt kiadni rendelte tulajdonosának Arnold Károlynak, a Btá.37.§-a alapján. Az irógép ugyanis nem a vádlottak tulajdona és Arnold Károlynak a bűncselekmény elkövetéséről nem volt tudomása. Az irógép sem a közbiztonságot, sem a közrendet nem veszélyezteti. Ezért a bíróság a fentiek szerint rendelkezett.

B u d a p e s t, 1957. évi május hó 10. napján.

F E L J E G Y Z É S

a szegedi Pedagógiai Főiskola hallgatóságának 1956. október 22- nov. 3. közötti időben tartusított megatartásáról.

1956. október 18. A főiskola tanulmányi, és iskolaszervezési ügyekben /az orosz és más idegen nyelvek kötelező v. fakultatív tanulása, a marxizmus-leninizmus és honvédelem tárgyak tanulási problémái, kötelező óralátogatás, stb./ is k e l a g y ü l é s t tartott az egyetemi nagy előadóteremben /auditorium maximum/. - Bevezető referátumot Szőke Sándor II. éves magyar-törzszakos hallgató tartotta. Sokan hozzászóltak. A gyűlésről a rádió riporter is készített magnetofon-felvételt. - Ezen a gyűlésen Pataki Szilveszter gimn. tanár, a főiskola velőkecsé, felszólalt és Berecsky Sándor párttitkár ellen személyen és gyűlésközlő hangnemből kirohanást tett. Az egyik főisk. hallgató /Osztréloszky Irma/ szenvedélyes hangon utasította vissza a párttitkár elleni támadást.

1956. október 23. Az egyetemi és főiskolai Pártaktív felvált az auditorium maximumban, ahol Feder Gábor egyet. tanár referátuma után felvált párttagokat tárgyaltak. Ide érkezett a hír, hogy az ifjúság tüntet az utcákban, s ekkor az aktív úgy határozott, hogy a párttagok menjenek az ifjúság közé, hogy az esetleges kilengéseket meg tudják akadályozni. A tüntetésbe a főiskolai hallgatóság akként kapcsolódott, hogy aznap d. u. a kollégiumba feljött egy bölcsészhallgató, aki közölte a kollégistákkal, hogy Budapesten az egyetemi ifjúság szimpátiatüntetést tart a lengyelek mellett, s ehhez csatlakozik a szegedi ifjúság is. A hírre a kollégisták tömegben lerehantak az utcára és csatlakoztak a felvonuláshoz. A menet a város különböző utcáin vonult fel, többek között a Klauzál téri Kossuth szobránál, majd a színház előtt történt szavazat /Petőfi: Nemzeti dalát szavalták el/. A felvonulók vegyes csoportja egyetemistákból, középiskolásokból, és a város lakosságának fiatalabb korú tagjaiból állt, amelyben a főiskolások nem egytöbbségben, hanem különféle kisebb csoportokban elszelva meneteltek. Volt közöttük, aki nem is ment ki a szállóból. Menet közben néhány jelző hangzott el, mint pl "Kövessük a lengyeleket!" "Aki magyar álljon közsém!" "Kossuth címért akarunk!" "Munkás diák barátság!" stb. A pártaktíváról érkezettek csatlakoztak a felvonulókhoz, s többek között ennek tulajdonítható, hogy semmiféle szélsőséges kilengés nem történt.

Előző nap Szőke Sándor az iskolagyűlésen megválasztott vezetőség egyik tagja. Gőnczöl Dávid III. éves föld. -raja szakos hallgatótól a vezetőség másik tagjától kapott egy táviratot, amely Egerből érkezett, az egri főiskola tanulmányi igazgatótól. A távirat szerint ott is megalkakították a MEFFESZT, s kéri a szegediek segítségét. Szőke S. - közlése szerint a vezetőségtől azt az utasítást kapta, hogy az új szervezet szabályzat-tervezeténél egy példányával utazzon Egerbe, vitassák ezt ott is meg, és az ottani kiegészítésekkel hozza vissza. Szőke S. a távirattal a főisk. igazgatójához ment, akitől engedélyt kapott az elutazására, és 400 Ft. rendkívüli szociális segélyt. Okt. 22. -én este a személyvonattal Budapestre, onnan tovább motorvonattal, majd ismét személyvonattal Egerbe utazott, ahová okt. 23. -án délután érkezett meg. Délután ott aludt, majd este 7 óra körül az egri gyűlésen, amelyen a főisk. tanárai és hallgatói vettek részt ismertette a szabályzatot, amelyet megvitattak. Közlése szerint a gyűlésen jelen volt a megyei Pártbizottság és Disz. bizottság egy-egy képviselője is, akik a gyűlés után megelégedetten hangsúlyozták előtte, hogy helyes irányba vezetett a gyűlést. A vitát után kollektíven meghallgatták a rádióból Gerő elvtárs beszédét, majd megérkezett a hír a parti tüntetésről. Másnap okt. 24. -én hajnalban Szőke S. - nyel szülei Budapesten laktak, s feltette őket - felutazott Budapestre. MÁVÁUT-tal Mátyásföldig utazott, s onnan gyalog ment át, kikerülve a Keleti p. n. körüli harcokat. A további napokban otthon tartózkodott szüleinél, s erről táviratilag értesítette a szegedi Főiskolát.

document 36

The summarising report (27th May 1957, College of Pedagogical Studies) of
László Gruber (leader of the educational department), László Zsámbéki
(president of the disciplinary trials committee) and Jeno Szobácsi
(YCL representative)

Elterjedt a hír, hogy Budapesten harcok vannak, s mindenki a rádióhoz ment. A hallgatók egy része átment az auditorium maximumba, ahol egyetemi ifjúság egy része és néhány egyetemi tanár összejött. Ott is a rádiót hallgatták. A tömeg ott az utcára akart menni tüntetni. A jelen lévő tanárok /Baróti Dezső rektor, Karácsonyi decens és mások/ csillapították őket, a megyei Pártbizottságról is jelen volt egy elvtársunk, az is felszólalt, de a hallgatók lehurrogták őket és széteszelva kisebb csoportokba mentek a városba, mert gyülekezési tilalom volt.

A főiskolai hallgatóság nagy része is, a többi egyetemi hallgatóval a hídnál nézte az átvonuló szovjet páncélokat. A hallgatóság más része - főleg a szünetelők és a nyírsegítek - az ösztöndíjbesztás után hazaindult.

A menzán kora délután volt a vacsora, hogy a konyha dolgozó kimenési tilalomig hazakereshessenek. Utána a kollégium kapuit is lezárták s kimenési tilalom miatt.

Ezre ismét megjelentek az egyetemisták a diákszálló előtt azzal, hogy néma tüntetést rendeznek, amit a rendőrség is engedélyezett fél óra tartalommal. A hallgatók egy része az ablakokon kiugrálva csatlakozott a tüntetőkhez. A hídnál a felvonulók az átkelő szovjet harckocsik elé álltak. Azek megálltak, egy tiszt kiszállt, majd megtudva miről van szó, tovább vezényelte a harckocsikat, a tömeggel nem törődve. A tüntetők ezután a kenderfőző gyárhoz vonultak. Miután az engedély ideje lejárt a rendőrség szét akarta osztatni a tüntetőket, de ezek nem engedelmessé váltak. Ekkor volt az első összetűzés a főiskolai hallgatók és a rendőrség között, amelyben a rendőrség a tüntetők segítségével vizífozókendőkkel osztotta szét a tömeget. Cseman Mária II. éves magyar-nemzetiség szakos ~~hallgató~~ hallgatóján megsebzült, Farkas Julia III. éves mat-fiz szakos hallgatója pedig egyik cipőjét elvesztette ebben az összetűzésben. A széteszelés után a hallgatók visszajöttek a kollégiumba és reggelig semmi különös incidens nem történt.

1956. október 25. /csütörtök/ A főiskolai hallgatók egyenként sétálgattak délelőtt a városban, főleg a kollégium körül és a hídnál, ahol a szovjet csapatok vonultak át, ezt szemléltek. Ekkor kezdődött a nemzetiszimű kukárdák készítése és felrakása. A nap ilyen eseményekkel telt el, semmiféle kilengésről tudomás nincs. Estefelé hernyótálpas katonai kecsik jártak, a katonák a diákszállót is körülfigyelték, időnkint vaktöltéssel a levegőbe lőttek. A redőnyöket a diákszállóban lehúzták.

1956. október 26. /péntek/ Délelőtt a városháza előtti Széchenyi téren akartak tüntetést rendezni a városbeliek, azonban a terület a katonaság lezárta. A Takaréktár utca felől oda benyomulni igyekvő tömegre lőttek, ott egy fiatal munkás meghalt, s ennek helyettét az Árv-térre vitték a tüntetők, ott széteszelgtek őket. Ezen a tüntetésen jelenlévő főiskolai hallgatókról nincs tudomásunk. +++

A főiskolai hallgatók legnagyobb része ezen a napon a diákszállóban volt, rádióztak és szórakoztak /táncoltak/. Az előző napokon főként "Szabad-Európa" nevű állomás adásait hallgatták, de ez a szegedi /ujszegedi/ vérengzésekről beszélt, s meggyőződtek hazugságairól, úgyhogy ezután nem volt hítele, s ennek az állomásnak a hallgatása is megszűnt.

1956. október 27. /szombat/ Délelőtt az előző napi szórványos kijárást követezővel, inkább kíváncsiságból. Délben lezárták a kollégiumot, kikapcsolták a telefont a katonai hatóság küldöttel. Délután 3-tól

+++ Délben a politikai rendrség a leánykollégiumba ment, ahol a József Attila kört keresték. Az autóval érkezett katonák fegyverrel körülfigyelték az épületet, de azután eltávoztak. A hallgatók megnyugtatóására Gruber László tanuló oszt. vezető beöltözött a kollégiumba.

Ezen a napon már megindult a tömeges hazautazás főleg délben Békéscsaba, Makó, Fegyverhaza felé induló vonatokkal a közelben lakók hazautaztak.

hétfő reggel hatig kimenési tilalom volt. Gruber László kilépési engedéllyel és a PB. segítségével szerzett kegyeret, s kiesztették az ebédet és vacserát. Este őrséget szerveztek a hallgatók megayugtására, főleg a leányhallgatók miatt.

1956. október 28./vasárnap/ délelőtt a kollégiumban Kálder főisk. adjunktus zeneelőadást tartott hangszerekkel. Délután 6 órákor műseres délutánt szerveztek a szomszédos "Irianyi János" egyet. kollégium bevonásával. Szavazatokkal a hallgatók kamarakörösének közreműködésével. Szendrei Imre főisk. adjunktus szongoraművész is játszott a hallgatóknak.

1956. október 29./hétfő/ Ekkor kezdődött a hallgatók tömeges hazautazása. Útsínyt a tanulmányi osztály /Gruber László és Szélpál Ferenc/ szervezett meg. Telefonáltak a különböző tanácsokhoz /akiket el tudtak érni/ Békéscsaba, Baja, Szekes, Karcag, Kecskemét stb. városokba, hogy küldjenek autót az ottani hallgatókért. A közelebb lakók pedig gyalog indultak haza. Az egyik szekesből orvos apja autótval jött a leányáért és még hallgatót is vitt haza az edavalók közül.

1956. október 30./kedd/ Folytatódott a hallgatók tömeges hazautazása. A városok egy része az előző napi telefonátértesítések alapján küldött szállítóeszközöket, mások, mint pl. a fővárosiak, a Budapestre elutazó szállító vagy oda tartó autókval vöröskeresztes karaszallagot feltéve mentek haza. A hallgatók semmiféle ferradalmi megmozdulásban nem vettek részt, valamennyiüket a hazautazás gondolata foglalkoztatta állandóan. A kollégium társalgójában ez volt az állandó téma.

1956. november 1./szerda/ Tovább folyt a hallgatók hazautazása. Budapestre ekkor utazott haza egy teherautón a hallgatók legnagyobb csoportja, a Budapesten lakó és ennán leutazó főiskolai tanácsokkal /Drien Károly, Szendrei Imre stb./ Mások egyéb alkalmai lehetőségekkel mentek haza. Ezen a napon már igen kevés főiskolai hallgató tartózkodott a kollégiumban.

1956. november 2./csütörtök/ Ezen a napon tovább folyt a hazautazás. Főképpen Békéscsaba és Baja felé utaztak az arra lakó hallgatók.

1956. november 3./péntek/ Már csak négy beteg hallgató maradt a kollégiumban, akik az egyik klinikára mentek át.

Ezen a napon a főiskolai diákszálló megürösödött. A Szegeden lakó többi hallgató is hazautazott, vagy szüleínél azok felügyelete alatt tartózkodott.

A főiskola hallgatóinak az Ellenferradalmban Szegeden vagy más helyen történő részvételére vonatkozóan a szegedi Pedagógiai Főiskola Fegyelmi Vizsgálóbizottság 1957. évi március hó 6.-i ülésén tárgyalta Jemel Károly, Kovács Albert és Nagy Zoltán fegyelmi ügyét, akiket kormányellenes röpiratok terjesztése miatt a rendőrség letartóztatott. Ugyancsak tárgyalást tartott a Fegyelmi Vizsgálóbizottság Gönczöl Dezső főisk. hallgató ügyében 1957. május 8.-án, aki ellen Magyarbármhegyes község hivatalos szervei tettek feljelentést, ottani ellenferradalmi magatartása miatt. - Mind a négy hallgató ügyében végleges fegyelmi határozatot csak a rendőrségi eljárás, illetve bírósági tárgyalás jegetős befejezése után lehet hozni, ezért a bizottság a tárgyalást a jegetős bírósági ítéletig elnapelta.

Más hallgatók ellen sem magáneseektől, sem hatósági szervektől bejelentés nem érkezett. A főiskola KISZ szervezete sem tud hallgatók által elkövetett egyéb ellenferradalmi cselekedetokről.

Fenti feljegyzéseknél készítésében résztvett Gruber László tanulmányi osztályvezető, a főiskola KISZ szervezete részéről Szekes János II. éves magyar-történelem szakos főiskolai hallgató fegyelmi bizottsági képviselő, Szekes Ferenc III. éves, Horváth Mihály III. éves és Szöke Sándor II. éves főiskolai hallgatók, KISZ tagok.

A vizsgálóbizottság elnöke meghallgatta a fentiekben kívül főként az első éves hallgatók magatartásával kapcsolatban Debessay Judit I. éves magyar nyelv és irodalom szakos hallgatót is.

földrajz szakos hallgatót.

Ugyancsak meghallgatta Cseman Mária II. éves ének-nemzeti-
ség szakos hallgatóját, aki az október 24-iki tüntetésben sérülést szem-
vedett. Cseman Mária elmondta, hogy ő a menet végén haladt, s amikor a
tűzoltócskandókkal lelecselták a tüntetőket, hazaindultak, de ekkor ér-
kezett oda a rendőrségi autó, amelyről leugráltak a rendőrök, vagy katona-
már nem emlékszik kik, akik gumibetonnal zavarták szét őket. Ekkor kapott
egy ütést a nyakára és elvesztette eszméletét. A többiek segítségével
került valahogy a diákszállóba haza.

Szegeden 1957. évi május hó 27-én

Gruber László
/Gruber László/

tanulmányi osztály vezetője

dr. Zsámbéki László

/dr. Zsámbéki László/

tanszékvezető főisk. docens
a fegyelmi vizsgálóbizottság
elnöke

Szabócsi János

/Szabócsi János/
főisk. hallgató
a KISZ képviselője

Biz.4/1957.szám.

Tárgy:Ellenforradalmi cselekményekben
részvett főiskolai hallgatók
ellen lefolytatott fegyelmi
vizsgálat eredményéről.

Hivatk.sz.: 0019/3/1957.

Melléklet: 4 db.

Művelődésügyi Minisztérium
Felsőoktatási Főosztályának

B u d a p e s t .

A fenti számú rendeletre az alábbiakat jelentem:

A szégedi Pedagógiai Főiskola Fegyelmi Vizsgáló Bizottsága a főiskolai MSZMP- és KISZ-szervezet képviselőinek bevonásával a főiskolai hallgatóknak az októberi ellenforradalom idején és az azt követően tanúsított magatartását megvizsgálta. Ennek alapján az alább felsoroltak ellen fegyelmi vizsgálat indult a ezek fegyelmi ügyében a fegyelmi vizsgálóbizottság javaslatának előterjesztése után a következő határozatokat hoztam:

1. Amesini Emil II.éves magyar-ének szakos, Ács Vilmos I.éves földrajz-rajz szakos, Bela János II.éves földrajz-rajz szakos, Csapp Irma II.éves földrajz-rajz szakos, Ferenczy Zoltán I.éves földrajz-rajz szakos, Hauszmann Ilona I.éves földrajz-rajz szakos, Korinek Magda I.éves magyar-ének szakos, Kovács Éva I.éves földrajz-rajz szakos, Kurucz Tibor I.éves földrajz-rajz szakos, Majtényi Agnes I.éves földrajz-rajz szakos, Mátrai Rudolf I.éves matematika-fizika szakos, Prómai Péter III.éves történelem-ének szakos, Szigethy Márta III.éves matematika-kémia szakos, Takács Ferenc III.éves földrajz-rajz szakos, Turner Judit I.éves magyar-történelem szakos hallgatóknak az ország valamennyi egyeteméről és főiskolájáról való kizárását javasolom, mivel a nevzetek vala mennyien engedély nélkül külföldre távoztak s az amnesztia rendelkezését adta lehetőségeket felhasználva sem tértek vissza. A fent felsorolt hallgatók fegyelmi ügyének tárgyalásáról készült jegyzőkönyvet egy példányban mellékeltem felterjesztem.
2. A jelenleg letartóztatásban levő Gönczöl Dezso III.éves földrajz-rajz szakos hallgatónak az ország valamennyi főiskolájáról való kizárását javaslom. Fegyelmi ügyének tárgyalásáról készült jegyzőkönyvet, a magyarbánsági Községi MSZMP Intézőbizottságának a szégedi Pedagógiai Főiskolához intézett átiratának és Tassy János magyarbánsági ált.iskolai tanár levelének másolatát egy-egy példányban mellékeltem felterjesztem.
3. Az egyévi és 4 hónapi büntetésre ítélt Kovács Albert I.éves hallgatót a főiskoláról kizártam.
4. A népi-demokratikus államrend elleni izgatás miatt öt hónapi büntetésre ítélt Jemei Károly I.éves magyar-történelem szakos és ugyanakkor a népi-demokratikus államrend elleni izgatás miatt három hónapi büntetésre ítélt Magy Zoltán I.éves magyar-ének szakos főiskolai hallgatókat a főiskolai tanulmányaik folytatásától két félévre eltiltottam.
5. Szöke Sándor II.éves magyar-történelem szakos hallgatót szigorú megrovásban részesítettem végző figyelemztetéssel, aki magatartásával ha nem is tudatosan, elősegítette a főiskolai ifjúság olyan hangulatának kialakulását, amely alkalmas lett az ellenforradalom céljaira.
6. Pesti János I.éves magyar-történelem szakos főiskolai hallgató ellen az ellenforradalom idején tanúsított magatartása miatt a fegyelmi vizsgálat még folyamatban van, mivel a lakóhelyéről feljelentés a napokban érkezett ellene.

document 37

A report of Károly Lerner about 'the result of the disciplinary trials against college students who played a role in the counter-revolutionary events' to the Ministry of Education

A hallgatók ellen a fegyelmi vizsgálat befejezése véglegesnek még nem tekinthető, mivel hallgatóink november 4-én szüneteltek, így a főiskola területén fegyelmi vétséget követhető cselekményeket nem követtek el, de esetleg lakóhelyükön tehettek olyat, amiről jelenleg nincs értesülésünk és csak a későbbiek folyamán beérkező jelentések alapján lehet indítani fegyelmi vizsgálatot.

S z e g e d, 1957. évi június hó 14-én

Lerner Károly
/Lerner Károly/
főiskolai igazgató.

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'The aim of the association is that the youth leaving the universities and colleges, who are dedicated to represent the mind of the nation, should not be an indifferent, passive crowd, a layer of coward, supple and mean ones, but an army fighting bravely and soulfully for the nation, the country and for a merrier future.

These people should not fear of talking about the truth, but they should serve the nation and the country with their skills, knowledge and ability.' (20 October 1956, University of Szeged)

'A resolution was passed towards the end of the assembly which called upon to leave AWY [Association of the Working Youth] and declared the formation of a new independent association representing the interests of students called AHUCS [Association of Hungarian University and College Students]. Then, at the end of the gathering, came some more harshly formulated political claims and another resolution was passed which had already contained the issues demanded by the students of Budapest some days later.

Some of these issues included the reformation of the government and the leading board of the party, new elections and the withdrawal of the Russian [Soviet] troops.' (Bill Lomax: Hungary 1956)

'The today Reflektor is about the revolution of the youths of Szeged. There is a storm in Szeged, a devastating storm; we could hear it on the official mouthpiece of Budapest. There is a storm in Szeged, indeed, though it is due not to the forces of nature but to the elemental uprisal of young souls.

But why do they call it devastating?

It is likely to be devastating for the system but may be or surely it is purifying and improving for the nation.

So there is a storm in Szeged, an almost revolutionary storm.

A storm of not only words and ideals, but also of actions because those youngsters who marched on to the intellectual barricades in the metropolis along river Tisza marched out of AWY as well and created the Association of Hungarian University and College Students all of a sudden.' (21 October 1956, Radio Free Europe)

2625-